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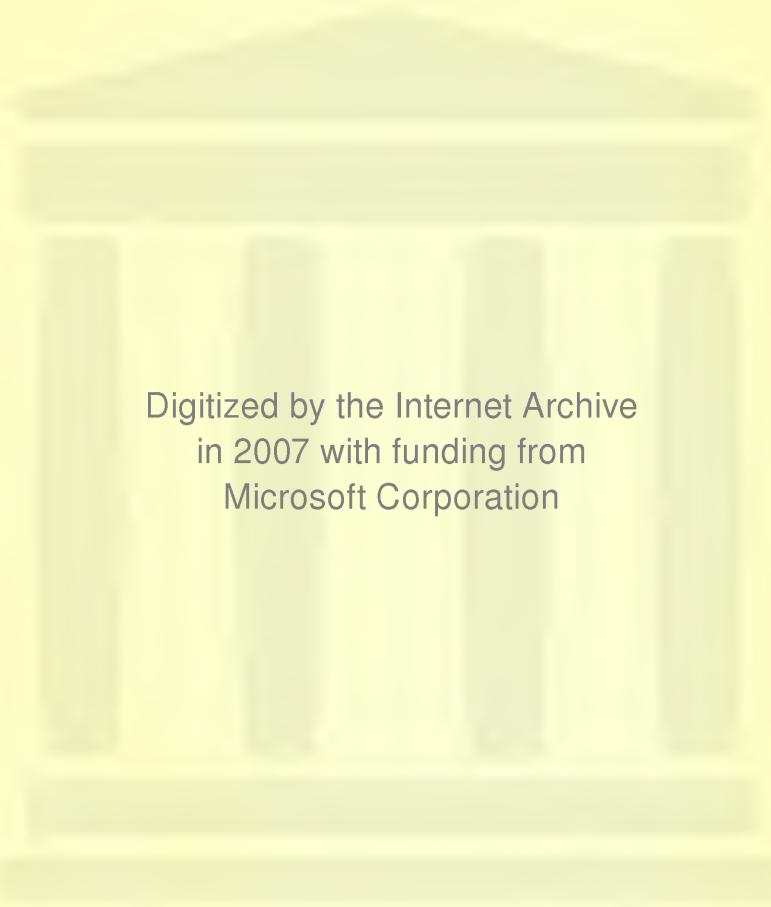
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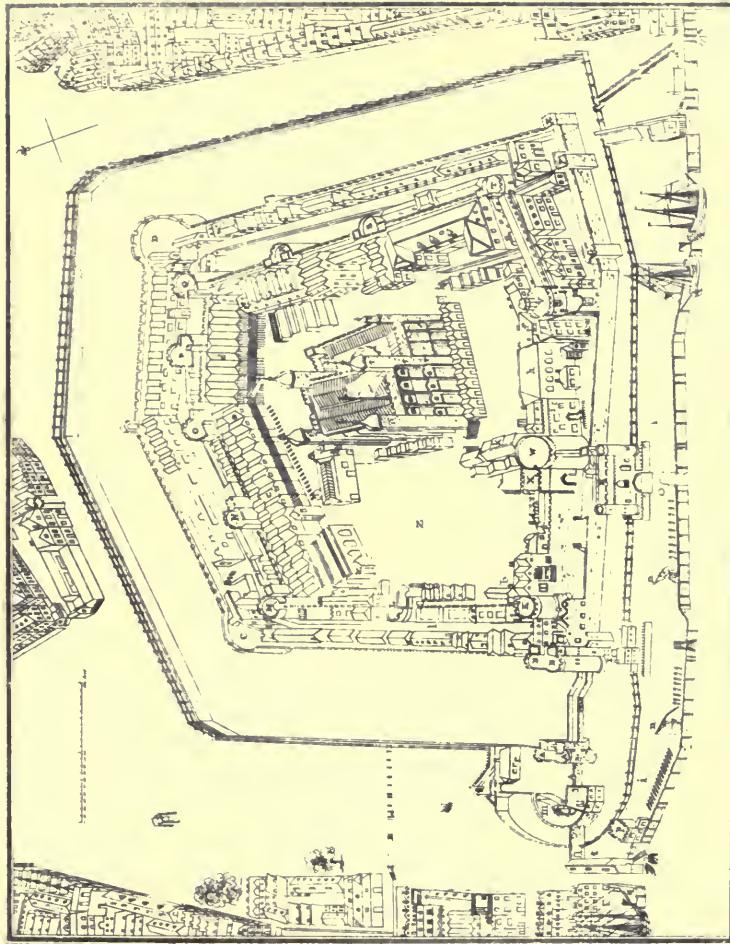


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GENERAL WILLIAMSON'S DIARY
1722-1747

PLANS OF THE TOWER OF LONDON,
from a Drawing made before 1609 and sent by Order of the Earl-marshal to the Ordinance.



KEY TO THE LETTERING
OF THE PLAN OF THE TOWER OF LONDON (1681-1689)
REPRODUCED IN THE FRONTISPICE

- A Martin's Tower.
B Byward Tower.
C Legge Mount.
D Brass Mount.
E Develin Tower.
F Well Tower.
G Cradle Tower.
H St Thomas' Tower.
I Draw Bridge.
K Bell Tower.
L Beauchamp Tower.
M Devereux Tower.
N Flint Tower.
O Bowyer's Tower.
- P Brick Tower.
Q Jewell Tower.
R Constable Tower.
S Broad Arrow Tower.
T Salt Tower.
V Lanhorn Tower.
W Wakefield Tower.
X Bloody Tower.
Y The Chapel.
Z The Parade.
- a The White Tower.
b Lieutenant's Lodgings.
c Lower Old Store-house.
d Upper Old Store-house.
- e The Great New Store-house.
f The Office of the Ordnance.
g Constable's Lodgings.
h Mortar Piece Store-house.
i Treasury House.
k Little Store-house in
Cold Harbour.
- l Mint Street.
m Place for the Lions.
n.n Cranes on the Wharf.
o Traitor's Bridge.
p Banbury Castle.
q Brewer's Quay.

KEY TO THE TELEKING

THE PLAN OF THE TOWER OF LONDON (1881-1884)

REFLECTIONS ON THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

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THE LITERATURE OF VICTORIAN WOMEN

MILTON HALL

AUGUST 2005

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B. GÖMELİK (Ed.)

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THE OFFICIAL DIARY *of*
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
ADAM WILLIAMSON
DEPUTY-LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER
OF LONDON 1722-1747

EDITED
FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BY
JOHN CHARLES FOX, F.R.Hist.S.,
A Master of the Supreme Court

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INTRODUCTION

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ADAM WILLIAMSON was born in the year 1676 or 1677.¹ According to a memorandum prefixed to the Diary (see p. 25), he served in the Army from the year 1702 as Lieutenant, Captain, and Colonel in the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards (afterwards the Scots Guards); and after being Aide de Camp to Lieutenant-General Meredyth, he held the same post under Lord Cadogan from the accession of George I until promoted to the post of Adjutant-General of England. Williamson's commission as Lieutenant is dated May 12, 1706; he served at Malplaquet (1709), was placed on half pay as Captain from Major-General Primrose's Regiment in 1713, was Captain in Sutton's Foot August 29, 1715, Captain in the Third Foot Guards and Lieutenant-Colonel November 6, 1717, and Adjutant-General to the Forces with the rank of Colonel February 8, 1721-2.² He also took part in the battle of Ramillies and other actions in Flanders.³ From the memorandum referred to above it appears that his commission as Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower was dated October 29, 1722. This was confirmed on the accession of George II in 1727 and at the same time he was appointed Governor or Captain of Carisbrooke Castle⁴. In 1742 he was appointed Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury⁵ and held the three offices to the end of his life. He was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General in 1739, of Major-General in 1741, and of Lieutenant-General in 1745.

Some glimpses of Williamson's early career are obtained from the State Papers. On July 10, 1715, he was sent by General Cadogan from Brussels to London "with the first news of the Pretender"—on July 19th he returned to Brussels. On August 3rd

¹ See Entry in the Diary of February 6, 1734-5.

² Dalton, *Army Lists and Commission Registers*, 1661-1714, v. 242; *Commissions* at the Public Record Office. It will be noticed that the date of the commission as Lieutenant does not agree with Williamson's Memorandum. Perhaps he was ensign from 1702 to 1706.

³ See p. 7 *infra*.

⁴ In the Diary Williamson refers to himself as "Captain of Carisbrooke Castle" (Entry, May 10, 1742). In the Commission Register at the Public Record Office he is described as "Governor." As to this post see note to entry of May 10, 1742.

⁵ See note to entry of May 10, 1742.

he made a second journey to London "with further news of the Pretender." He returned to Brussels on October 28th, made a third journey to London on November 1st, returned to Brussels November 2nd and travelled back to London November 4th. The dates are taken from Williamson's Bill of expenses which Lord Townshend authorizes the Treasury to pay on November 25th. The journeys were made by way of Calais and the charge each way is £15. On November 17th is an item for a journey to Harwich and back "to quarter the Holland troops." Lord Townshend's authority to the Treasury also includes a bounty of 100 guineas to be paid to Williamson "for bringing over the Barrier Treaty from Antwerp." This was signed at Antwerp by the Imperial, British, and Dutch Ministers, November 16, 1715; seven days later Williamson arrived in London with the Treaty. On May 20, 1717, the Treasury is authorized to pay a sum of 50 guineas to George Tilson who advanced the same to Captain Adam Williamson who went to Holland to take care of "Baron Gortz" during his confinement.¹

In January 1721-2 Williamson presented a Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury as to the case of a soldier of his Company in the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards who had been fined £10 and committed to prison until it was paid. The offence was "only giving Mary Ward a slap in the face" and the offender "a poor honest fellow" had suffered almost a year's imprisonment. The fine was remitted and the prisoner discharged in the following March (*Cal. of Treasury Papers 1720-1728*, 118).

In 1740 Williamson published and dedicated to the King 'Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marshal Turenne, interspersed with others taken from the best authors, and Observations and Remarks,' a second edition of which was issued in 1744.² In the preface he offers an apology for the book: "A cessation of arms for twenty-eight years must unavoidably have been attended with the loss of most of our old generals and officers, and their posts at length filled with many who never served abroad. For the use of these

¹ *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1714-1719*, 159, 348. *London Gazette*, Nov. 12-15 (O.S.), 1715. Goertz, the Minister of Charles XII, was formulating his plot to restore the Stuarts to the English throne when he was arrested at Arnhem, February 22, 1716-7, by the British Resident at the Hague with the sanction of the States-General. (*The Swedish Plot of 1716-7*, 18 *English Hist. Rev.* 104).

² On April 3, 1740, the General had the honour of presenting copies of the work to the King and the Duke of Cumberland in person (entry in the Diary Ap. 3, 1740).

this collection is intended and I hope (if what is here offered is not approved) some abler officer will give them fuller instructions, which for their sakes and my own improvement I should be very glad to see. Till this happens, let them put this book in their pockets; it will take little more room than their snuff box, and if as often looked into, will be of greater use to them, for every paragraph is a lesson. . . . I must not here forbear to acknowledge my obligations to my great friend and patron the late Lieutenant-General Meredyth,¹ to whom I had the honour of being Aide de Camp in Flanders, and by him indulged frequently to ride out and see what was going forward in the army. This, with his instructions and my duty on other occasions, with the happiness of speaking the languages joined to a strong curiosity to see and know all I could, gave me opportunities to make some observations on what passed in the field and at sieges, which I have presumed to add, with others from the best authors. I have only to say that no lucrative view prompted me to publish this little book. I gave the copy to Messieurs Knapton for their own sole advantage and hope they will be no losers by it."

The following extracts from the body of the work throw light upon Williamson's military career:—p. 44: On the rule of giving battle at the earliest possible moment: “Donawert was attacked the very day we marched into it. The battle of Ramillies began almost as soon as we had sight of the enemy. At Oudnarde we passed the Scheld and began the battle the same day; and the Duke would have done the same thing at Malplaquet but that he chose to stay for the 12,000 men from Tournay.”

p. 79: As to not halting during a retreat: “As the troops did after their defeat at Almansa; and as two Battalions did to Turenne in the night at the battle of Norlingen, though their own army was within a hundred paces of them; and as the two Battalions du Roi did at the battle of Ramillies, who, instead of retreating as they safely might, threw themselves uselessly into a small wood and staid there till our column of horse came up and there was nothing for them to do but surrender, as they did to me when I rode up to them to offer them quarters and protection.”

The Chief Officers of the Tower in Williamson's time were the Constable, the Lieutenant, the Deputy-Lieutenant and the Major.

¹ The account of this officer in Dalton, *George I; Army* (i. 160, ii. 153), taken in connection with the above passage and some phrases in the Diary, suggests that Williamson was of Irish extraction.

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The Constable had supreme jurisdiction but did not reside in the Tower; the Lieutenant had a residence there but his office, at this period, seems to have been a sinecure; the Deputy-Lieutenant was the Resident Governor and usually applied for orders to the Constable direct; the Major served under the Deputy-Lieutenant and in his absence acted as Governor. Several of these officials are referred to in the Diary and at the foot of this introduction is a list of the Chief Officers of the Tower from the Revolution until the middle of the eighteenth century.

In ordinary times the Deputy-Lieutenant was able to procure leave of absence during a considerable portion of the year and we find from the Diary that General Williamson by leave of the Constable usually spent the summer months at his country house in Berkshire.¹

As to Williamson's parentage we have no certain information. It is not improbable that Adam Williamson who was serving as surgeon in General Meredyth's regiment in 1709, while our Adam Williamson was a Lieutenant in the same regiment, was his father.² On a plate within the cover of the Diary are the following arms:—Field or a chevron gules between 3 trefoils slipped vert. Crest a dragon's head vert spitting fire resting on a mural crown. Motto "Adsum." The same arms are engraved on a print entitled "View of the Tower from the River—To the Honourable Colonel Williamson this Prospect of His Majesty's Tower of London is most humbly dedicated by his Honour's most humble servant Joseph Smith."³ The General's nephew, George Williamson, afterwards Lieutenant-General, saw service in North America and died in 1781. George's son, Lieutenant-General Sir Adam Williamson, was a soldier of distinction and for a time Governor of Jamaica.⁴ Catharine, the first wife of our General, died without issue, March 25, 1729, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower where her tombstone may still be seen in the floor on the south side of the chancel.⁵ The General's second wife was Eliza-

¹ See entry in the Diary, March 26, 1727, *et passim*.

² See Dalton's *Army Lists*, etc., vi, 347, and *George I's Army 1714-1727*, by the same author.

³ British Museum Maps, K XXIV (23-d-1).

⁴ See *Dict. Nat. Biog. sub nom.* Sir Adam Williamson. The wills of father and son are at Somerset House (P.C.C. Webster 621, Walpole 752). See a reference to George Williamson in the Diary under April 2, 1728.

⁵ See entry in the Diary, December, 1729.

beth, daughter of Leonard Digges,¹ of Chilham Castle, Kent, and Elizabeth, his wife, by whom he had two daughters: (1) Elizabeth Caroline, born in 1731, who was married in 1760 to Daniel Fox, and died without issue in 1787; and (2) Mary, who died very young and was buried in St. Peter's, in the Tower, in November, 1732.²

There is a reference to Williamson's second wife in a letter dated September 1, 1746, addressed by him to the Under-Secretary of State, in which he seems to express apprehension that Lady Traquhar may corrupt her with Jacobite notions (*see Appendix*, p. 230).

Amongst the State Papers (Domestic), August, 1746, is a letter dated the 23rd of that month written by Williamson to Mr. Stone, Under-Secretary of State, and purporting to be delivered by "Mr. Hampden the only heir to the estate of Hampden after the death of the present John Hampden, Member of Parliament for Wendover, who lives in my house and has his whole support from me till Providence provides better for him." It would seem that this Mr. Hampden did not live to become possessed of the estate (*see Lipscomb, History of Buckinghamshire*, ii, 269).

General Williamson died on November 9, 1747.³ He was buried at Binfield, near Wokingham, as also were his second wife, his surviving daughter, and the latter's husband. By his will, dated June 6, 1747,⁴ Williamson disposes of land in the parishes of Oakham, Binfield, Sandhurst, and Finchamstead, for the benefit of his wife and daughter. He left numerous unsatisfied creditors, one of whom, his nephew George, before referred to, filed a bill for the

¹ The General's will referred to below contains a devise to "West Diggs and his brother Dudley Diggs." West Diggs, or Digges, is identical with the actor of that name (1720-1786) about whose parentage a doubt is expressed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There is no doubt that West and Dudley were the sons of Colonel Thomas Digges, a great grandson of Sir Dudley Digges, Master of the Rolls 1636-1639. Colonel Digges was brother to the second Mrs. Williamson. He served in the First Life Guards and afterwards in the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, General Williamson's Regiment (*Dict. Nat. Biog. sub nom.* West Digges; Harris's *History of Kent* (1719) 370; Dalton's *Army Lists, etc.*, vi, 21; the following wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury : Leonard Digges, Mrs. Williamson's father (Tenison 76); John Digges (Browning 207); Elizabeth Digges, Mrs. Williamson's mother (Henchman 209); Colonel Thomas Digges (Boycott 195)).

² Registers of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower. As to the daughter Mary see entry in the Diary February 23, 1732-3.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1747.

⁴ P.C.C. Potter 299.

INTRODUCTION

administration of his estate in 1750. From the pleadings in this suit¹ we learn the position of the testator's affairs at the time of his death. It appears that George Williamson, the plaintiff, was sent to Minorca as a "Lieutenant in the train of Artillery" and placed his son Adam, born in 1735, under the care of the testator. The plaintiff made remittances for his son's board, lodging and education, of which he alleged that no proper account had been rendered by the testator. In February, 1746-7, the testator had written to the plaintiff, "I am as earnest for Addy's welfare as you can be, for he is the stay of our family and my wife and Carry have him in the same affection that I have and look on him as a successor to all we have if my daughter dies without children."

In a letter of June, 1747, the testator writes: "Be assured that the money you have in my hands is safe for him (the plaintiff's son). I have now due from the Government £2,300 and as it comes in I shall put it together in the annuities for him and as to the expenses of Westminster School for diet and learning I will ease you as much as I can of them."

In the former letter the testator writes: "The backwardness of the Government's paying guards and garrisons, of which I have due to me at this time 1600*l.*, and my maintenance of Lord Lovat who owes me 250*l.*; and the like for five French officers, prisoners, who owe me for ten months diet &c. 400*l.* in all 2250*l.*; this great laying out (by which however I shall be a considerable gainer) joined to the great expense I have been at in building, has for a while disabled me from settling the affair."

The answer filed by the defendant, Elizabeth Williamson, the testator's widow and executrix, gives particulars of the estate, which include:

	£	s.	d.
182 days' pay (at the Tower) ending 24th June 1746	165	1	0
Fire and candle to the same time	6	0	0
For bell ringing and clock keeping	1	18	5
One quarter's allowance for a house for the Deputy-Lieutenant in the Tower	10	0	0

(It appears that the pay was a year and half in arrear at the testator's death. According to Maitland, (*History of London*, 175) the pay of the Deputy-Lieutenant was £1 a day.)

¹ P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings 1758-1800, bundle 1144.

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II

" An Account of monies received by the said defendant of Major White, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, for necessaries delivered to the Guards doing duty in the Tower of London for six winter months ending Lady Day 1748,

	£ s. d.
For coals at one bushel and a half per Company and as many to the Infirmary per day in all 15 (?) bushels at 1s. per bushel is per month £23.5.0., for six months	139 10 0
For candles at 3lbs. per day is per month £2.12.6. for six months	15 15 0
For oil for the lamps per month £3.8.0. for six months	20 8 0
For basketes per month £1.0.0. for six months	6 0 0
For ten mops per month £0.10.0., for six months	3 0 0
For brooms per month £0.5.0. for six months	1 10 0
Allowance for the delivery per month £5.0.0. for three months	15 0 0
For eighteen chaldron of coals at £1.10.0. per chaldron	27 0 0
For sheet washing per month £3.10.0. for three months	10 10 0
By Cash received from Major White as per the yearly bill	<hr/> 30 2 0
To be deducted thereout for fees	268 15 0
Total of neat cash received as above	<hr/> 265 2 9

An Account of the several sums of money received by the said defendant and which were due to the said Adam Williamson as Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury Fort Garrison:

	£ s. d.
Settled accounts with Mr. Joynes at Gravesend on account of ship money, the Ferry House at Tilbury, etc., balance received	15 3 11
Received of Lord Delawary for coals at Tilbury Fort	20 15 10
Received from the office of Ordinance [sic] one quarter's house rent for the Governor's house at Gravesend	10 0 0
To 182 days pay ending 24th June 1746	137 19 0
By do. for fire and candle	<hr/> 34 13 6
	Carried Forward £218 12 3

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	£	s.	d.
“ Brought Forward	218	12	3
Received for the chaplain and gunners	150	19	6
To 183 days pay ending 24th December 1746	138	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
By do, for fire and candle	33	15	3
Received for the chaplain and gunners	151	17	6
To 182 days pay ending 24th June 1747	137	19	0
By do, for fire and candle	33	15	3
To 138 days pay ending 9th November 1747	104	11	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
By do, for fire and candle	33	15	3
			<hr/>
To be deducted thereout for cash advanced to the said Adam Williamson in his lifetime by Mr. Andrews	100	0	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Total of neat cash received as above	200	0	0
			<hr/>
	80	0	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

Under “ Account of debts due to deceased and which this Defendant reckons desperate or bad debts and not recoverable ” is the following :

“ A share in Goodman’s Fields Playhouse from whence no profit doth or is like to arise.”¹

¹ ‘Goodman’s Fields’ was an open space lying between the Minories and Church Lane, Whitechapel, but in 1761 it was no longer recognizable as fields. The name is still preserved in “Great Alie Street, Goodman’s Fields”—see the Post Office Guide. There were two theatres in Goodman’s Fields in the eighteenth century; one stood on the north side of Great Alie (then Ayliffe) Street by the site now occupied by Zoar Baptist Chapel, and was known as “Goodman’s Fields Theatre.” In 1737 Gifford, the Manager of this theatre, waited on Sir Robert Walpole with the manuscript of a piece named “The Golden Rump” sent to him for performance by an anonymous author. It was of so revolutionary a character that Sir Robert, by its means, succeeded in carrying the Licensing Act of 1736. The piece was never acted. (Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, ii, 71). At this theatre in 1741 Garrick first made a name, appearing in the part of Richard III and other characters. The Patent Houses were deserted, and a string of carriages thronged the route from Temple Bar to Goodman’s Fields, sometimes a dozen Dukes of a night forming part of the audience. This theatre was erected by Thomas Odell in 1729, and was pulled down in 1746. The following is a play bill issued in 1746 of the other theatre in Goodman’s Fields, erected in 1703 : “At the New Wells the bottom of Lemon Street, Goodman’s Fields, this present evening will be several new exercises of rope-dancing, tumbling, singing, and dancing, with several new scenes in grotesque characters call’d Harlequin a captive in France or the Frenchman trapt at last.

Another debt due to the testator, but reckoned "desperate" is £109 4s. od. "due from the Treasury on account of Lord Cromartie for his support in the Tower" (*see p. 207, infra*).

Amongst the debts due from the testator is included: "To Rhodes Green for beer for the ringers had by General Williamson's order in May and July 1747—10s. od."

In an inventory of the testator's effects the rooms of his house in the Tower (the Constable's house on the Parade, now called "the King's House") are described: "The room on the Line"—"The Green Room two pair of Stairs"—"The Blew Room two pairs of Stairs"—"The Red Room two pair of Stairs"—"The Tapestry Room two pair of Stairs"—"The Blew Room one pair of Stairs"—"The worked Room one pair of Stairs"—"The Passage Room one pair of Stairs"—"The Book Case Room"—"The Kitchen, Brewhouse and Cellar."¹ The rooms of the testator's house at Binfield, near Wokingham, are also described, and indicate a country house of comfortable dimensions: "Miss Williamson's dressing room—Miss's Bedchamber—Miss's Maid's Room," etc.

The executrix gave a sapphire ring of the testator's to "Mr. Sergeant Skinner, since deceased, who was the testator's particular friend and acquaintance."² Included in the schedule of real estate

The whole to conclude with an exact view painted on canvas of our gallant army under the command of their Glorious Hero passing the River Spey, giving the rebels battle and gaining a complete victory near Culloden House, with the Horse in pursuit of the Pretender." In 1744 the Grand Jury of Middlesex present "as places riotous, of great extravagance, luxury, idleness and ill-fame, the several houses places and persons following within this County, to wit: . . . The proprietors of a place called New Wells in Goodman's Fields at the bottom of Lemon Street within this County where are daily meetings of disorderly idle people." There is some confusion in the accounts of the two theatres, but it seems probable that it was in that firstly described that Williamson held shares (*Dict. Nat. Biog. sub* "David Garrick" and "Thomas Odell"; *Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, i, 228; Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, ii, 126-8; Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, ii, 149; Besant, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, 494-5).

¹ This list does not seem to contain all the rooms in the Deputy-Lieutenant's house. Perhaps it includes only those containing furniture belonging to the Testator at the time of making the inventory.

² Matthew Skinner 1689-1749: *see Dict. Nat. Biog. sub nom.* He was one of the Crown counsel on the trial of Lord Balmerino: "Then the King's Counsel opened and Sergeant Skinner pronounced the most absurd speech imaginable." (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 217, 218. *See the speech in the State Trials*).

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is a “messuage or two tenements near the Bloody Tower in the Tower of London,” one of which was let at the yearly rent of £7, and the other at £18.

At this period creditors had no claim upon a testator’s real estate in the absence of a charge in their favour, and, in the present case, General Williamson’s debts remained unsatisfied until 1787, when Mrs. Fox by her Will¹ directed them to be paid out of her estate. The following extract from a letter written by that lady to her cousin Adam Williamson in 1781 refers to the subject: “ I have long intended mentioning to you a matter respecting your father, in which you must be interested. It was ever the wish and labor of that excellent man Mr. Fox (whom I should have been happy if you could have known and duly esteemed) to become able with convenience to our own reasonable establishment to pay all my father’s debts, the most considerable of which was due to your father. It pleased God, when the completion of that just and desired end was in full view, and by His blessing nearly attained, to deprive me of my whole soul of enjoyment by Mr. Fox’s death and leave me in that, as in every other instance, to work and to finish through my remaining thread of life alone every good purpose which we hoped to have wrought together. The complicated nature of my affairs in account with many has proved the difficulty which it is easy to apprehend in settling under such circumstances. But your father’s debt has a first place in my mind when I can so arrange as to ascertain my capital. He being of great age, and you my early friend and acquaintance, I shall the rather through you at your most convenient opportunity apply to him for the original account of my father which I find on revisal of my mother’s answer to the Bill preferred against her in Chancery to have been delivered by her to him and refused to be returned to her.”²

A private diary of General Williamson’s is referred to in Mr. P. A. Taylor’s *Some Account of the Taylor Family* (p. 428). Mr. Taylor gives the following extract from the Diary under May 29, 1736; “Gave the boys 6d. for ye bon-fire, against my inclination, for the restoration of K. Charles ye 2nd, a King who reigned as a mere Viceroy to France.” Amongst the General’s manuscript collection of “Wise sayings and moral apothegms,” also mentioned by Mr. Taylor, is the following: “The common way of abusing men who oppose arbitrary principles in State or Church is to call ‘em Re-

¹ P.C.C. Major 64.

² The original letter is in the present writer’s possession. Either it was never despatched or it was returned to the sender.

publicans, Libertines and Deists—sometimes Atheists is thought good enough for 'em. Enemies to religion to Christianity and to the clergy—but surely they are the best men who support our liberties as by law alowed, and they are the worst who would preach us into a slavish subjection to their unreasonable scheams." On the usages of society the General writes: " People who are adicted to visiting may be sayd to be troubled with a chonical distemper or with Fits. . . . The true causes of living and the solid pleasures of life are lost in visiting, show, imposture, and impertinence." According to Mr. Taylor the General had altered his Prayer Book to accord with his own opinions. On the end fly leaf he writes: "I desire it may be known that the author of the foregoing remarks and corrections is a Christian Deist. . . . That the doctrine of a nonsensical Trinity is not founded on the Gospel of Christ, but is merely the invention of fallible men." He adds a list of proposed omissions, which includes the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds and the curses in the Commination Service. In the collect of the Service for King Charles the Martyr he substitutes for " violent and blood-thirsty men," " brave and good Englishmen," and for " barbarously murdered," " deservedly treated."

It will be apparent from what has been said above, and from what follows in the Diary, that General Williamson was before all things an upholder of the House of Hanover, a protestant, and a deadly enemy to Jacobites, papists, and non-jurors. He appears to have enjoyed the personal favour of George II, and no doubt owed his later promotion to this circumstance. It would seem that he was an honest and capable servant of the State, though of an arbitrary disposition and bigoted in his opinions—thoroughly in earnest in all his sayings and doings, but wanting in tact, as we should now say. In giving evidence of an admission made by a prisoner in friendly conversation (Appendix, p. 196), Williamson no doubt considered that his first duty was to the State, and if he reported the incident to the Government at the time he was strictly correct in doing so and could not refuse to give evidence on the point when called upon (*cf.* the Treasury Solicitor's letter, p. 205 *infra*). It was a painful situation to be placed in and it is not surprising that an attempt was made to suppress the name of the witness or that Williamson's account of the trial (*Diary*, 24 Nov., 1746), should be silent on the point. There is nothing to show that Radclyffe, with whom it was a case of life or death, asserted that he had been induced to make the admission.

In Samuel Wesley's poem, cited at p. 152, Williamson in the

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character of a kite is the cruel gaoler of a blackbird who represents Bishop Atterbury. The kite is described as "not sprung of Eagle-brood," which points to a humble origin; but a lampoon must not be construed too literally.

The incidents related at pp. 37, 147, prove that Bishop Atterbury was not only the better wrestler, according to Williamson's own account, but also outwitted his gaoler by successfully carrying on a secret correspondence with his friends, " notwithstanding all our care," as Williamson sadly remarks. We shall not be surprised to find that a few months later upon the Bishop's sentence of banishment Williamson took him down to Woolwich in the Navy barge with so light a heart that he "gave him three huzzas at parting. . . . and was rejoiced to get rid of him."¹

The continual strain involved in the charge of the Jacobite prisoners impaired Williamson's health, and seems to have hastened his end. The Diary breaks off abruptly with an entry of April 3, 1747, announcing the receipt of the warrant for delivering Lord Lovat to the Sheriffs for execution on April 9. During the following six months we should expect to find entries relating to prisoners, amongst them Murray of Broughton and Alastair Macdonald (Pickle the Spy), which would have provided interesting matter of history. Probably Williamson was in ill-health during the whole of this period. As early as October, 1746, he writes to the Under-Secretary of State: "My asthma increases on me for want of country air and riding, which I resolve not to ask liberty for till my care of our Prisoners is over" (p. 236). He had taken a house in Islington, no doubt to escape from the miasma of the Tower Ditch (*see* Lord de Ros *Memorials of the Tower*, ed. 1866, p. 14) without going far from his post of duty, and the last glimpse of him, a few weeks before his death, is obtained from a letter addressed to Lord Cornwallis, the Constable, from that house: "Islington 8br. the 5th 1747. My Lord—In the midst of pain and a weary life I have the uneasiness to hear that you are troubled with a petition from some of the warders who attended in their duty on the Irish or French prisoners setting forth that ye shilling a day and their victuals is not compensation enough for their duty, and require each half a guinea a week which is indeed the fee noblemen usually out of their generosity give them but otherwais their old and usual fee is one shilling and no more as the warders who

¹ Diary, entry June 17, 1723.

were over Kelly, Plunket and others know very well and so do I from the experience of 25 years I have served in the Tower; but my Lord here is likewise the strongest reasons why I should give them no more added to the foregoing, my goods are all spoild, so is the Table Linnen, my Pewter lost or embezzled, sheets ruined, a great expense of fireing kept allmost all the year round, two bottles of the best port allowed them generally a day besides strong beer and after all this, deductions at the Treasury and Exchequer on the officers' account—I believe near £67. 10. 0. Now my Lord all this put together will I am preswaide move you to look on these people as unreasonable, for my own part I am so sensible of the loss I have rather sustained than gained, that I determined, before I fell ill never to have to do with such undertaking again; and after all to be troubled with ye impertinances of these fellows when I am not in a capacity to go among them, but I understand the two Leaders are Misenigoe and Jollif neither of them Englishmen or they had been more reasonable. I aproach every day sensible towards my grave, being now so weak I can scarce go across the room. I went the other day in the coach to the Tower but found it too great a fatigue for me. It is certain my Lord my last year's duty in the Tower and to the House of Lords will soon put a final end to your Lordship's most respectful and obedient servant A. Williamson. I shd. have added sollicitations at the Treasury which have been expensive and extreamly troublesome." (*Tower Records* v, 36).

The Diary presents a view of some contemporary events from a new standpoint. The following may be specially noted: The imprisonment and banishment of Bishop Atterbury (pp. 25, 30, 37, 43); the visit of the Duke of Loraine, who was not taken to see the regalia because the Imperial crown which he was expecting to wear was finer than anything to be found in the Tower (pp. 73, 74); Kelly's escape from the Tower (pp. 94, 95); the swearing in of a new Lord Mayor before the Constable of the Tower in the absence of the Barons of the Exchequer on circuit (pp. 104-111); the trial and execution of the Highland deserters (pp. 113-115); the imprisonment, trial and execution of the rebel lords of 1745, including an account of a private visit to the Tower of the Lord Chancellor and the two Secretaries of State to examine Murray of Broughton (pp. 121-131). The personal details recorded here and there help to enliven the narrative and disclose some of the General's idiosyncrasies: "N.B. this poor spirited Lord did not make the leste

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present to the officers of the Tower at going out" (p. 37); of the Earl of Macclesfield who wished to make the General a handsome present on his discharge, "but in regard his fine was so heavy and that I thought him an honest man and hardly delt by, I did not take one farthing from him" (p. 45); of a fire, in which 40 houses were burnt down; the Deputy-Lieutenant ordered an officer and 40 men with arms to march out of the Tower and keep off the mob from the engines "which soon stopd its progress on our side, and seeing that the fire spread from us, I retired with the men at 6" (p. 87); on Kelly's escape from the Tower Williamson writes: "But there is no faith to be given to Prisoners. . . . He had given his word under his hand never to attempt to make an escape from the Tower, but the officers of the Tower should trust only to their own dilligence and not to the word of such Traitors, espetially of Old Irish Papists, as this fellow was, on whose faith I advise Englishmen never to relye" (pp. 94, 95). It is not certain that Kelly and his gaoler were at one as to the prisoner's undertaking not to attempt an escape. Kelly had promised not to take advantage of the permission granted him to go abroad with a warder, but, as is suggested in the novel *Parson Kelly*, it is possible that he considered his promise did not apply when he was back within the Tower walls. (*See* the account of him in the Appendix, p. 166).

The manuscript of the Diary passed, on the death of General Williamson's widow, to his only surviving child, Elizabeth Caroline, the wife of Daniel Fox, a sworn clerk of the Court of Chancery, and from her to her husband's relations, the Taylors. It was thus acquired by the late Mr. Peter Alfred Taylor, sometime member for Leicester, and was given by his representatives, with other family papers, to the present writer.

The Diary is contained in a paper book with parchment covers, and occupies 129 folio pages. The following transcript is a facsimile of the original, except that the various memoranda which precede the diary are here arranged in some kind of order, whereas in the original they have been jotted down from time to time and the order is broken. The preliminary memoranda end at p. 33, and at this point the Diary proper begins. The spelling of the original with all its imperfections, has been adhered to. The more lengthy notes have been inserted in an Appendix, to which reference is given in the foot-notes. It should be mentioned that where the notes contain a reference to the State Papers, giving the date only and not the number of the bundle, the authority is a manuscript

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collection of extracts belonging to Lord Lovat, which he has permitted the present writer to inspect. Where the number of the bundle is given, the original document has been examined.

The original of the plan of the Tower which makes the frontispiece of the present volume was prepared for the information of the Privy Council 1681-1689, and was reproduced by the Society of Antiquaries in the 4th volume of the *Vetusta Monuments*.

I am under obligation to many willing friends for trouble undertaken and information furnished. In particular I desire to acknowledge my debt to Mr. Hubert Hall, the Director of the Society, for his advice on several points; to my friend Mr. H. W. Eaden for reading the proofs and preparing the index and for much information and suggestion; to Lord Lovat for the loan of the above-mentioned extracts from the State Papers of 1745-6; to the Constable of the Tower and to Major-General Pipon, the Major and Resident Governor, for affording me access to the Tower Records.

J. C. F.

LIST OF THE CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE TOWER 1688-1750.

(See p. 8, *supra*).

CHIEF GOVERNOR:

Robert, Lord Lucas, 1688-1702.

DEPUTY-GOVERNORS:

Sir Bevill Skelton, 1688-9.
Colonel Thomas King, 1689.
Colonel John Farewell, 1689-1702.

CONSTABLES:

Montagu, Earl of Abingdon, 1702-1707.
Algernon, Earl of Essex, 1707-1710.
Richard, Earl Rivers, 1710-1712.
George, Earl of Northampton, 1712-1715.
Charles, Earl of Carlisle, 1715-1722.
Henry, Earl of Lincoln, 1723-1725.
Charles, Duke of Bolton, 1725-1726.
Henry, Viscount Lonsdale, 1726-1731.
John, Earl of Leicester, 1732-1737.
Charles, Earl Cornwallis, 1740-1762.

LIEUTENANTS:

Lieut.-General Charles Churchill, 1702-1706.
Lieut.-General William Cadogan, 1709-1713.
Lieut.-General Hatton Compton, 1713-1741.
Lord Harry Paulet, 1742-1754.

DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS:

Colonel James Pendlebury, 1709-1715.
Colonel Robert D'Oyly, 1715-1722.
Colonel (afterwards General) Adam Williamson, 1722-1747.
Major Richard White, 1747-1750.

MAJORS:

Major Thomas Hawley, 1690-1697.
Major Marmaduke Soull, 1697-1709.
Major Robert D'Oyly, 1709-1715.
Major Joseph Mason, 1715-1724 (1722 (?)).
Major Richard White, 1724 (1722 (?))-1747.
Major Charles H. Collins, 1747-1771.

CHAPLAINS:

The Reverend William Hawkins, appointed 1699.
The Revd. Edward Harby, appointed 1736.
The Revd. Isaac Cowper, appointed 1761.¹

The following Memorandum on the office of Deputy-Lieutenant, written about the year 1755, is amongst the records at the Tower (v, 41):

"At the Revolution Lord Lucas was appointed Chief Governour of the Tower and his Deputy Colonel Farewell was styled Deputy Governour as he could not be called Deputy Lieutenant, there being then no Lieutenant; on Lord Lucas's death the Tower returned to its usual government by constable and Lieutenant. Then the person before styled Deputy Governour was styled Deputy Lieutenant, beginning with Colonel Pendlebury and soe on to his successors; which is apprehended makes it very clear that the then

¹ The above list is compiled from Lord de Ros, *Memorials of the Tower*, Appendix ; Haydn, *Book of Dignities*; List in *Notes and Queries* 10th Ser., IX, 244; *Pells Appointment Book*, Public Record Office ; Williamson's *Diary*. *infra*.

LIST OF CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE TOWER 1688-1750 23

Deputy Governor and the present Deputy Lieutenant are the same employment."¹

Much information concerning the officers of the Tower is contained in *Additional MS. 14,044* at the British Museum, being 'Copies of documents relating chiefly to the privileges of the Tower of London' from the reign of Henry III to that of James I, compiled for the use of Sir William Waad, Lieutenant of the Tower from 1605 to 1611.

¹ Lord Lucas was in fact removed from office upon the accession of Queen Anne, and died in January, 1704-5 (*G.E.C. Complete Baronage*, sub 'Baron Lucas of Shenfield'). The title 'Chief Governor' was occasionally used to describe the office of Constable or Lieutenant, and 'Deputy-Governor' that of Deputy-Lieutenant, as late as 1746. See the trials of Lords Kilmarnock Cromarty and Balmerino (*Howell's State Trials* xviii, 448, 458). Lord de Ros was the last Deputy-Lieutenant, the office being abolished on his death in 1874 (Bell, *Historic Personages Buried in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula*, 41). The Major is Resident Governor at the present day. In a plan at the Tower "by Capt. Lempriere, 1726," the house marked "Constable's Lodgings" in the plan which forms the frontispiece to the present volume is marked "Major's Apartments." See further, as to the officers of the Tower, Lord Lonsdale's Memorial to the King, Diary, May 23, 1728, p. 55, *infra*.

DIARY OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ADAM WILLIAMSON,

1722-1747.¹

TOWER OF LONDON, 1722. COMMITMENTS AND ORDERS
ETC. A. WILLIAMSON, DEPTY LIEUT.; WITH SOME RE-
MARKABLE PASSAGES RELATING TO HIS OWNE AFFAIRS
AS WELL AS TO THE TOWER.

Col^l. Adam Williamson who had serv'd in the army from the year 1702 as Lieut^t, Cap^{tn}, Col^l. in the 3rd Regim^t. of foot Gards, during which Service he had the honour to be Ayd de Camp to Lt^t. Gener^l. Meredyth and afterward from the happy coming in of King George, to be ayd de camp to Lord Cadogan til he was promoted to the Post of Adjutant Gener^l. of England, from which Post he Voluntarily accepted of the Post of Deputy Lieut^t. of the Tower w^{ch} his Majesty was pleas'd to make choice of him for, at a time when the Wicked Bishop of Rochester² had with others Layd a dangerous Scheme for bringing in a Popish bigotted Pretendr, and for which he was more than Justly banishd for life.³

Commission for Deputy Lieut^t. bares date 8^{ber}. y^e 29th. 1722.

¹ The contents of pp. 25-33 following, are taken from the outer leaves of the MS. The Diary proper begins at p. 34.

² Bishop Atterbury. See note, Appendix, p. 141, *in/r/a*.

³ It appears from the evidence at the trials of Atterbury, Kelly and Plunket, that the first object of the conspirators was to seize the Tower and obtain a supply of arms (*State Trials*).

The Constable Lord Carlisle was please to give me Leave to live in his house on the Parade,¹ which I furnishd handsomly and at great expence.

Was made Justice of the Peace for the Tower Libertys,² Midx., Westminster, Surray, Kent, Essex, Berks, Wilts, and Hampshire.

Put up the brass Stoves and Marble in the great parlour and Little Dyning room at my owne expence and the great grate and Irons in the Stone Kitchin.

In the year 1723 I planted the three Pear and the 3 Vine trees against the South side of the Constables house.

An 1728 I fixd four brass candlesticks on the Piew I allwais sat in, which in the absence of the Lt^t. belongs to me as his Deputy, it, and the next to it, having been erected at the Sole charge of Sr John Robinson Lieut^t of the Tower.³

¹ The Constable's house on the parade is now known as 'The King's House,' its earliest name, and is occupied by the Major of the Tower as Resident Governor. On the accompanying plan of 1681-9 it is called "The Lieutenant's Lodgings." There was formerly a garden on the north side of the house, extending over part of the parade. The Bell Tower, to which access is gained through the King's House, was at one time used as prisoners' lodgings, but whether it was so used in Williamson's time does not appear. The wooden turret on this tower contained the alarm bell of the garrison.

² The Liberty of the Tower included the site of the fortification and the wharf on the south side, together with strips of ground on the lower east and west sides and a space, including Tower Hill and Little Tower Hill, to the north-west, north and north-east, with some outlying grounds. The exact boundaries are given by Bayley, *History of the Tower*, II, App. cxviii. The Liberty included the Precinct within the walls or 'the Tower within,' and the Precinct outside the walls, or 'The Tower Without' (*see* entry in the Diary March 18, 1728-9); and *see* note "The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

³ Pepys speaks of attending service in the Tower Chapel (St. Peter-ad-Vincula), in company with Sir John Robinson, and evidently refers to the pew mentioned by Williamson: "Lord's Day, February 28, 1663-4. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir J. Robinson, would needs have me by coach home with him where the officers of his regiment dined with him. After dinner, to Chapel in the Tower with the Lieutenant, with the keys carried before us and the warders and gentlemen-porters going before us; and I sat with the Lieutenant in his pew in great state." (*Pepys' Diary*, ed. Lord Braybrooke, ii, 23). Sir John Robinson, Bart., was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower in June, 1660, and held the post until 1679 (*see* Bayley, *History of the Tower*, Part II, Appendix, lxxxviii, lxxxix). He was Lord Mayor of London 1662-3, and died in 1680 (G.E.C., *Complete Baronetage*, iii, 52). He is generally included in the list of Constables of the Tower, but he never held that office.

In the same year in 8^{ber.} I planted four Vines in the wall of the round Tower behind the Servants house of office, but for want of carefull watering they died.

8^{ber.} 1729 I planted four more in the same places and they grew, being carefully watered.

March. I had the four Pear trees ingrafted with Large Winter Pears and bon cr̄tiens, the fruit they had boren having been small, rough and ill tasted, one only took, the rest I took up 173½ and planted 3 others in their places.

9^{ber.} ye 20. 1730.

I planted in the Ditch behinde the Bridge seven young Elder trees in order to have berryes for making wine, which by long experience I found wholsom.¹

Feb ye 1

Took a Stable on the east side of Tower Hill near St. Catherins² gave 6 £ pr an, but hope one day a Stable may be built for the use of the Constable, or those commanding in his absence. N.B. The Constable had formerly a Stable in the Tower but for fear of fire it was removed, and none built since for him.

Orders for Close Prisoners as I found em at My first comeing to the employment of Deputy Lieut. 1722.

1. That no message be carryd to the Prisoners but by the gentleman Gaoler.

2. That the Centinells posted on a Prisoner suffer none to come within their posts or to go in to the Prisoners house but the Proper Officers of the Tower.

¹ There are further entries in the Diary as to planting under the dates November 17, 1729; January 14, 1731-2; and January 10, 1734-5. The Constable's Lodge, against which the pear trees were planted, was the house in which Williamson lived. The round tower, against which the vines were planted, was no doubt the Bell Tower, adjoining the house. The Ditch behind the bridge where the elders were planted was probably part of the Tower Ditch by the drawbridge, which connected the Byward Tower with the wharf (see Frontispiece). Perhaps part of the Ditch under the wall was dry enough for planting.

² St. Catherine's Hospital was just outside the Tower, on the south-east. It was removed to Regent's Park in 1825.

3. That the Warders whose the Prisoners are suffer no person or persons to come within that house but the family that belongs to it and the Proper Officers of the Tower.

4. The Warder appointed to keep a close Prisoner shall not presume to Leave him for a moment alone either by night or day, or to change their Duty with other Warders, but by particular Leave of the Governour or his Deputy in his absence.

5. No Cloths neither Linnen or Wollen or any other thing whatsoever belonging to a Prisoner shall be carryd out or brought in, till examind by the Warders in the Presence of the Gentleman Gaoler.

6. The Warder must not suffer the Prisoner to walk in any other appartment of the house or to come out of his room, and if any other person or persons shall attempt speaking to the Prisoner either at the Window or any other way the Warder shall immediatly call the guard to apprehend such Person of Persons, untill further order from the Governour.

7. If the Gentleman Gaoler shall neglect to see the Prisoners either when he locks up at night or when he unlocks in a morning, the Warders shall be obliged to make a rapport of such Neglect to the Governour or his Deputy.

8. The Warders therefore or the Gentleman Gaoler are every night and morning to examin all parts of a Prisoners room, to see that no alteration be made in the windows or doors, as Locks or bolts within side or bars forced or walls broke downe or anything else attempted that might favour his escape, or look like a corespondance abroad, of all which they shall immediatly give notice to the govern^r. or in his absence to the Deputy.¹

My orders since I received my Commission as Deputy Lieut.
Xber the 25. 172². [1722]

I. Suspecting the Gentleman Gaoler I ordered [That a warder allwais attends the Gaoler when he goes to a Prisoner and that he

¹ The Gentleman Gaoler was the chief warder, and held his post by warrant of the Constable. His duty was the locking up and charge of prisoners, and to carry the axe before such of them as were sent for trial, to and from the court, the edge turned from them before conviction, and towards them after conviction. (*Bayley, History of the Tower*, 668; *Trial of Lords Kilmarnock, etc.*; *Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 458, *see, also*, p. 125, *infra*). In the absence of the Gentleman Porter the Gentleman Gaoler acted as his deputy (*see entry, March 26, 1741*, p. 110, *infra*).

continues in the Room during the time he is with them as likewise one of em to be presant when he spakes to a Prisoners Servant.] N.B. he has been since turned out for misbehaviour¹

2. That the servant of a Prisoner be not allow'd the leste opportunity of spakeing to any body that comes to see them or their Masters but in a Warders presance.

3. That in the Report that is made to Col¹. Williamson the Warders mention the Sever^l. Visits which the Officers of the Tower make to the Prisoners and how long they stay, and that no Woman or child be admitted with them unless by his order.

Jañry y^e 20 1723

1. Whatever orders are given to Warders or whatever is sayd to them by their Superior officer concerning the Prisoners, the Warders are not again to tell the Prisoner, nor even their brother Warders.

2. That the Warders on one Prisoner do not communicate to the Warders on an other, what passes during their ward, but to the commanding officer only.

3. That all messages to Prisoners be taken at the dore by a war-
der, and that the Servant of Prisoners be not suffered to give or take messages on any account whatsoever.

4. If at any time it is known that either officer or Warder tells a Prisoner anything to the Detriment of his superior officer, it will be deemed a crime of a very suspitious nature.

1723 Janry y^e 24

5. Ordered by the Rt. Hon^{ble}. the Earle of Lincoln,² constable of the Tower of Londⁿ. that no Letrs. or Papers to or from Prisoners be sent to a Secretary of State, but all things and applications to be sent by the commanding Officer of the Tower to my Lord Lincoln directly, or the Constable for the time being if in Towne.

2. Ordered by my Lord Lincoln that the Bishop of Rochester may have the minutes of both houses of Parliament and the protests of the Lords, when they are at any time sent to him, the Prisoners to have all sorts of books or newspapers.

¹ See note " Williamson and Lord Carlisle," Appendix, p. 159, *infra*. The portion of the above entry enclosed in brackets is crossed out in the MS.

² Henry Clinton, seventh Earl of Lincoln (1684-1728), was Constable of the Tower from 1723 to 1725.

Janry 25

3. That no Prisoner be suffer'd to speake to any body that comes to see 'em, from the ground Window.¹

Febry ye 12

That no maids be allowd to stir out of the house where a Prisoner is, but to be kept as effectually within dores as the Servants of Prisoners, but where the Warder has no wife or relation for whose honesty he can answer, but that the maid servant must unavoidably go to market to buye Provisions for the Prisoner, in this case the hour of nine must be fix'd for such maids going to market, and a Warder must attend 'em to see that they have no communication with any body til they returne.²

14.

That the Centinells on Prisoners suffer no body to knock at the dores of Prisoners, the Centinell is to knock, for all that comes, and to keep 'em off till the dore is opened and the Warders appear.

No Phisicion is to be admitted to a Prisoner but with Doctr. Harvey the Phisicion of ye Tower,³ this by Lord Townshends orders, Secretary of State.

No wine to be admitted to any close Prisoner in flasks, unless the covering of the Flask be first taken off, and the bottle look'd through by holding a lighted candle behinde it, and all empty Bottles as well as full to be examined the same way, and that allwais by the Gentleman Gaoler, and no Liquor likewise to be admitted in stone bottles, but the Liquor first to be poured out and the Bottles Very carefully examind, and all hampiers or other things to be kept carefully in the Custody of the Warders till the sd. Gentlemen Gaoler visits them, going to or from the Prisoner.

March.

No barber to be allowd to shave a prisoner unless he be a Warder. N.B. there was a Barber that lived in the Tower that had allwais been allowed by my predecessor to go to Prisoners, but in regard he did not belong to the King nor was a sworne officer, I forbad it.

¹ The order of January 25, 1722-3, is doubtless connected with an interview between Bishop Atterbury and his son-in-law, William Morice; *see note "Bishop Atterbury," Appendix, p. 147, infra.*

² This order has reference to Atterbury's case. *See the entry of February 25, 1722-3, pp. 37, 38, infra.*

³ *See note "Doctor Harvey," Appendix, p. 160, infra.*

April ye 18th 1724

Lord Lincoln ordered that a prisoner who is committed close, and afterwards gets Leave to walk an hour or once a day for the recovery of his health only, shall not be allowed to go to church or have any conversation with any body.

9ber ye 25th:

Lord Lonsdale¹ ordered that the Warders at the Gate do not stop any person coming in to the Tower on account of extorting mony from him; the Warders are carefully to examin every body and to attend on Strangers and to take mony of those who are inclin'd to give it to them but to stop or force no man to it.

Xber 11,

Orders which I gave Harwood our new Master Gunner.²

1. He is to make his rapport every morning at nine a clock to the Governor.

2. He is frequently to go round the Tower Line to see that all the guns on the sever^{ll} Batterys be in good order, and none of their aprons³ Missing.

3. He is not be absent himselfe by night or by day from his duty, without leave of his Superior Officer.

4. He is to informe him selfe throughly of the nature of the Guns on the Several Batteries and of the Just quantity of Powder which each gun requires, and the best method of Charging them and making cartridges for 'em.

5. He is to be carefull of his Stores and of his fire and Candle and to live soberly and regularly within the Tower.

Lord Carlisle removed X^{ber}. the 27th. 1722.

Xber 21. 1724.

Lord Lincoln removed to be made Cofferer and succeeded by the Duke of Bolton 1724.

7^{ber} 1726.

Lord Lonsdale succeeded the Duke of Bolton who layd downe.

¹ Appointed Constable in September, 1726. The date of this entry cannot therefore be earlier than 1726.

² These orders should be dated 1727; *see* entry of October 11, 1727 (pp. 49, 50, *infra*). The "Governor" in order 1 is Williamson, the Resident Governor.

³ "Apron"; a square piece of lead laid over the touch-hole (*New Eng. Dict.*).

1731.

Lord Leicester succeeded Lord Lonsdale May the 11th. 1731 but he was not nominated til August the 19th.¹

Fees for keeping a Safe Comoner per week	13	4
Allowd a Commoner $\frac{1}{2}$ week for his Subsistance	2	0
For Safe keeping an Arch Bishop $\frac{1}{2}$ week	2	13
For Safe keeping a Bishop $\frac{1}{2}$ week	2	4
An Irish Lord the same, or a Scotch peer	2	4
An English peer as the Arch Bishop	2	0
N.B. The old fees were a great dail higher ²		

These fees are allwais demanded by a bill given in by the Constable with what other contingencies may happen, and in My time and before applyed to the Constables profit, tho we are at the trouble and hazard of Safe keeping and Lyable to be calld on if a prisoner should escape, but by suffering my predecessors and Me to live in his house and by other acts of goodness it has been made up to us.

The King allwais allowd a Prisoner who by Petition askd it and declared he had not wherewithall to support himself 40 shillings $\frac{1}{2}$ week, but Kelly and Plunket³ were allowd but 5^s $\frac{1}{2}$ day which it is sayd happened by a mistake of Lord Townshend's, Secretary of State.

1723 Jañy 1.

Seeing the Warders went with their coats open under which appeared westcoats of Vareous colours black browns grays &c., I perswaded em to make handsom Laced Vests of their old Coats, to appear in when on Duty, or calld to appear at a coronation &c. which they all did.

¹ Compare with list of Constables, p. 21, *supra*. According to Doyle, *Official Baronage*, ii. 386, Lord Lincoln was Constable until June 1, 1725.

² Evidently the first item should read: " Fees for safe-keeping a commoner per week." This and the fees following, except the second, seem to have been paid by the Government to the Constable or Resident Governor by way of remuneration for his services. The second item was the Government allowance for the subsistence of a prisoner without means. From later entries it appears that prisoners contracted with the Deputy-Lieutenant at so much a week for their subsistence (*see pp. 120-123*), and he no doubt made a profit by the bargain.

³ As to Kelly and Plunket *see entries February 2, 1722-3, and April 11, 1723.*

1727. y^e 10, it was ordered by Lord Lonsdale:

1. That if any process is Issued out against any habitant in the Tower that is actually in his Majestys Service nothing shall be don in the execution of it till the Govern^r. of the Tower is made acquainted with it, and then if the debtor belongs either to the Ordnance or Mynt,¹ the head officer of his Province is to be inform'd of it and the debtor likewise, who is either to quit the Tower, or put in bail, enter appearance or otherwais do as the Law requires and in due time, else the writ to be excuted on him.

2. If any process Issuing out of the Tower Court² against one abiding in the Tower who is not in his Majestys Service in the Tower, the st^d person is to be brought before the Govern^r. and if he doth not immediatly give Satisfaction to his Creditor, he is to be serendred by the Govern^{rs} orders into the hands of the Officer who has such Writ or Warrant without the Gate at the spur.³

3. but in regard to the importance of the Tower and safety thereof, nothing above is intended to affect any Millitary Officer who is actually on duty or command in the Tower.

N.B. it has been my Practice to send privately to the person against whome a writt had been issued to let him know it, that if he pleas'd he might get off, but if he chose to stay in the Tower we then obeyd our orders, and proceeded as above.

¹ The Ordnance Office and the Mint were within the Tower walls, the former to the south of the White Tower, the latter between the inner and outer walls on the west, north, and east sides. There is a plan of the Mint as it existed in 1701 attached to the Twenty-first Annual Report of the Deputy-Master of the Mint (1890).

² It will be observed that the first of these rules refers to process generally, and the second only to process issuing out of the Tower Court. The Tower formed a privileged place, exempt from the jurisdiction of the sheriffs of London or Middlesex, but in the case of persons in the service of the Crown being sued, the Resident Governor would, except in the case of a military officer actually on duty, compel them to submit to the jurisdiction, or quit the Tower. The second rule authorizes the Governor to compel the submission of any person, not in his Majesty's service, but residing within the fortification, to the process of the Tower Court. As to this Court see note "The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161, *in/ra*.

³ The "Spur" was the projecting portion of the Fortification at the southwest corner, containing the Bulwark or Lion Gate which occupied the position of the present entrance gate.

1722 1722 9^r. ye 20.¹

Nov. 20 A Rule of Court for Mr. Lear's² tryall.

A Rule of Court Mr. Beriman and Hawkins to be with Lear as his Clergy to prepare him for death.³ Lord Carterets Letr. and order for bringing Lord North and Orrery⁴ to Westminster, called there by Habeas Corpus at Mr. Lear's request, to be evidence at his tryall.

N.B. Mr. Lear excused Lord Orrery's attendance so that he did not go.

X^{ber} ye 3^d. 1722.

An other order from Lord Townshend to let Mr. Beriman attend Mr. Lear.

7. Order for Lord Londⁿ Derry⁵ to see Mr. Lear

12. A Rule of Court for the Execution of Mr. Lear.

An order for Mr. Birch to be admitted to the Bishop of Rochester to receive institution for a Rectory.

11. The first reprieve for Mr. Lear to the 22^d. inst.

22^d. The order for the Sub Dean and Chapter Clerk to confer with the Bishop of Rochester about the affairs of the Chapter, in my presence.

Mr. Lear's 2^d. reprieve to ye 19th. of Jañ.ry.

27. Lord Carlile removed and succeeded by Lord Lincoln, who gave me ye naming of a Warder.⁶

¹ The Diary proper begins here.

² Christopher Layer, as the name is properly spelt. See note, Appendix, p. 162, *infra*.

³ The date of this entry should not be earlier than November 27, on which day Layer received sentence of death. "Mr. Berriman" is probably John Berryman, Rector of St. Olave's and St. Alban's (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). A warrant of December 3 authorizes "John Berryman, a clergyman, to attend Mr Layer in the room of Dr Moss who is indisposed" (*Tower Records*, iii. 161; and see entry December 3, *infra*). "Dr Moss" was perhaps Robert Moss, D.D., Dean of Ely and Chaplain in Ordinary to the King (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). "Hawkins" is no doubt Dr. Hawkins, Chaplain to the Tower, whose death is noted in the Diary under date September 29, 1736.

⁴ By "Lord North and Orrery" is meant "Lord North and Grey, and Lord Orrery," as to whom see Appendix, pp. 164 and 165, *infra*.

⁵ Thomas Pitt, first Earl of Londonderry (1688?–1729), an Irish peer who sat for Wilton in the British House of Commons (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

⁶ As to Lord Carlisle, see note "Williamson and Lord Carlisle," Appendix, p. 159 *infra*; as to Lord Lincoln, see p. 29, note (2) *supra*. The nomination of a warder was sold by Williamson in April, 1731, for £210 (see p. 70, *infra*).

Xber ye 26.

1722
Dec. 26

Order for Mr. Crocherode to be a Lone with Mr. Lear.

30. Order for Mr. Stanion to be a lone with the Bishop of Rochester.¹

1723. Jañry ye 5.

Order for letting Doctr Purcell or friend² visit Lord North³ in his illness. N.B. He chose Purcell a papist.
ditto.

Order for Letting Mr. Bernard, uncle to Mr. Lear Visit him a lone.

9. Lord Townshends Let^r. for continuing Lears Irons on him.⁴17. Reprieve for Mr. Lear to the 4th of febry next.24. Ord^r. from Lord Carteret for the Bishop of Rochester's giving institution to Mr. Ayers⁵ for the Rectory of Gravesend.30. Ord^r. from Lord Townshend for Letting S^r Hans Sloane⁶ see Lord Orrery.⁷Febry ye 2nd.Lord Carterets 4th reprieve for Mr. Lear till ye 11th. inst. Lord Townshends ord^r. for ye 2 Kellys⁸ to be brought to the Secretarys office to be examined by ye Committee of ye Commons.Sent the Maj^r. and G Porter,⁹ a sergt and 12 men with them in 2 coaches.

¹ Anthony Cracherode, Solicitor to the Treasury, died April 22, 1752 (*Gent. Mag.* x, 192). Temple Stanian, clerk to the Secretary of State, afterwards Under-Secretary, was a witness at Layer's trial (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 198; Haydn, *Dignities*, 225).

² "Doctor Purcell or friend," should read "Doctor Purcell or Doctor Freind." John Purcell, M.D. (1674?–1730) practised as a physician in London and was the author of *A Treatise of Vapours or Hysteric Fits*, which has been praised for its good sense (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He attended Lord North and Grey for a fever (*Tower Records*, iii, 172). As to Doctor Freind see p. 38, *infra*.

³ See note "Lord North and Grey," Appendix, p. 164, *infra*.

⁴ See note "Christopher Layer," Appendix, p. 162, *infra*.

⁵ The Revd. Wm. Ayerst, B.D. For biographical particulars, see Pocock, *History of Gravesend*, 88.

⁶ Sir Hans Sloane, 1660–1753, physician; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁷ See note "Lord Orrery," Appendix, p. 165, *infra*.

⁸ George Kelly and Dennis Kelly who do not appear to have been related in blood. See note "George Kelly," Appendix, p. 166, *infra*; "Dennis Kelly," *ibid.* p. 173.

⁹ The Major of the Tower (see Introduction pp. 7, 8). "G. Porter," i.e. The Gentleman Porter, who held his office by letters patent at the recommendation of the Constable (Bayley, *History of the Tower*, 667), and had charge of the gates

1722-3
Feb. 2

Lord Townshends order for Lord Orrery's liberty of y^e Tower.¹
 8. Rule of Court to bring Lear to the Kings Bench ye 11th; cary'd him with y^e Gentleman Gaoler and my self in the coach and I comanded a guard of 1 officer 1 ser^t and 24 men and ten Warders to y^e K^s B.²

1722 Febry 18.

Lord Townshends order for Doc^r. Sandlins to visit Mr. Cockeran.³
 20. Lord Townshends ord^r. for S^r Hans Sloane to visit Lord Orrery.

21. Lord Townshends order for Doc^r. Purcell to visit G. Kelly.

but he accompanied prisoners outside the Tower from time to time and attended upon occasions of ceremony. In May, 1719, the Constable, Lord Carlisle, made a report to the Treasury upon a petition of Thomas Serjeant, "Gate [Gent.?] Porter of the Tower of London." The Constable says that the office of Gentleman Porter is one of trust, he having the care of the Tower Gates and it being his duty to see them locked and well secured every night. The pay was 2s. 2d. a day and upon Serjeant's petition an additional £60 a year was granted (*Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1714-1719, p. 458). The Gentleman Porter's house adjoined the Constable's house and the Bell Tower (*Ib.* 1735-1738, p. 325). For the period of the Diary, Thomas Sergant, or Serjeant, held the office until December, 1726 (Diary, p. 46), W. Pennington until April, 1734 (pp. 47, 84), and Joslin Sidney, brother of Lord Leicester (p. 84) until he succeeded to that title on his brother's death in 1737 (pp. 96, 97). Sir Thomas Lanson was Gentleman Porter in 1746 (p. 121). In the absence of the Gentleman Porter, the Gentleman Gaoler acted for him; see entry March 26, 1741, p. 110, *infra*.

¹ A prisoner having the liberty of the Tower could leave his lodgings and walk, subject to restrictions, within the circuit of the walls. If committed for high treason, he was required to give security before receiving the liberty.

² See note "Christopher Layer," Appendix, p. 162, *infra*.

³ Warrant of the Secretary of State of this date for Dr Sandlins "a physitian" to have admittance to Thomas Cochrane (*Tower Records*, iii, 141). Cochrane came from Scotland where he had carried on a correspondence in connexion with Bishop Atterbury's plot (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 342), and was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, August 8, 1722 (*Tower Records*, iii, 139). On August 23 there is a warrant for him to walk in the open air within the Tower, accompanied by the Lieutenant or Gentleman Gaoler, and on the same day he was joined by his servant David Williamson "to be kept in the same house as his master" (*Ib.* 140). On August 26, however, Cochrane was ordered to be kept close prisoner (*Ib.* 141). On September 7, he was brought with Atterbury and Dennis Kelly to the Old Bailey where his application to be bailed or brought to trial was refused (*Fortescue's Reports*, 101). On May 25, 1723, there is a warrant for such persons as desire to speak with Cochrane to have access to him at all convenient hours (*Tower Records*, iii, 190) and on May 28 he was discharged on bail (see entry of that date below).

23. Lord Townshends ord^r. for S^r Hans Sloane Doc^r. Mead¹ and Doc^r. Harvey² to visit Lord Orrery. 1722-3
Feb. 23

N.B. he had been much used to exercise particularly to riding, which he did dayly when at liberty for his health, and as he was of a very tender constitution, for want of this exercise he grew feeble and lost in a great measure his appetite, however, not so far as to be in my oppinion in any immediat danger, but haveing been allow'd the Liberty of the Tower he grew fresher and was by it much mended; however, he being disirous of further liberty, and still complining of bad health from want of more exercise, these three Phisitions above mentiond were ordered to give their oppinion of his Condition and State of health, and visited him three sever^l times, and at length, on their raport of the great necessity there was to give him the liberty of riding for the recovery of his lost appetite and Strength, he was admitted to bail as mentioned hereafter, and he went to his house at Brittall³ in Buckingham Shire accompanyd by Col^l. Otway which the Court thought fit shoud attend him, and he was advised to consent to it leste at any time he shoud be suspected of being (or caballing with) disaffected people.

N.B. This poor spirited Lord did not make the leste present to the officers of the Tower at going out.

Feby 24.

Lord Townshends orders to let no Phisition visit a sick Prisoner, but when the Phisition of the Tower is presant.⁴

25. Lord Townshends order for seising and examining the Pap^{rs} in the custody of the Bishop of Rochester or his serv^{ts}.

N.B. It appear'd the Bp. had a const^t. corespondance and a Lettr⁵ was seis'd in his Servants Pocket, writ with his owne hand and of eight sides of paper, ready for delivery, in which it plainly appear'd that, notwithstanding all our care, he had store of paper pens & ink & employd em Daily with great privicey and Dispatcht his Letters and had their answers. What was remarkable in this

¹ Richard Mead (1673-1754), Physician to the King; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He visited Dr Freind in the Tower in May 1722-3 (see Appendix, p. 174, *infra*).

² Physician to the Tower; see note "Dr Harvey," Appendix, p. 160, *infra*.

³ Brittwell.

⁴ See note "Dr Harvey," Appendix, p. 160, *infra*.

⁵ Written by the bishop to his son-in-law, William Morice, and seized February 26. A copy is in the *Commons Reports*, 1715-1735, i, 258.

1722-3
Feb. 25

man was that he was constantly complaining of the cruelty of keeping him in Prison, without allowing him pen or ink and that for want of it all his reading during his imprisonment woud be lost, and frequently shewing a little bit of a Pensill he had, saying that was all he had to make any short memorandum with, when at the same time this hypocritical Bishop had eleven quires of paper by him, and Pens and ink in Proportion, with a new Pensill, all which we believe were conveyd to him in the time of Brooks the late Gaoler and one Cousins a Warder, both turnd out a month before this discovery, on Suspition of their roguery; and we had reason to believe a maid servant who had the liberty of going a lone to market or at any time out of the house was the means by which he corresponded, which was the cause of the order fol. 6. day 12.¹ This man frequently averd things which he knew to be false, and was the worst man I ever had to do with in all my Life. A. W^mson.²

1722³ March ye 5.

Lord Townshends order to admit Edward Spar messenger and Wm Wood to see George Kelly³

7. Lord Townshends ord^r. for Mr. Mead a Banker and a Notary Publicque, to have access to Lord Orrery for the transferring South Sea Stock.

12. Lord Orrery calld to the Lord Chief Justice by habeas corpus to be bailed, himself in 20000 and Lord Carleton and Lord Burlington in 10000 each.

15. Lord Townshends warrant to Let Doct^r Chamberlin⁴ have access to the Bishop of Rochester.

Lord Townshends warrant of Commitment of Doct^r Friend for high Treason.⁵

¹ See p. 30, *supra*, February 12.

² As to this incident, see note "Bishop Atterbury," Appendix, p. 153, *infra*.

³ See note "George Kelly," Appendix, p. 166, *infra*.

⁴ Hugh Chamberlen the younger (1664-1728), a fashionable London physician; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He attended Dennis Kelly as well as Bishop Atterbury; see entries of March 23, 1722-3, and April 13, 1723.

⁵ See note "Dr Freind," Appendix, p. 174, *infra*. "Warrant of commitment": A Secretary of State may lawfully commit persons for treason and for other offences against the State (Hawkins, *Pleas of the Crown*, ii, 175; *The King v. Despard* (1798), 7 *Term Reports* at p. 742). Lord Camden sums up the history of the subject in *Entick v. Carrington*, 1765 (*Howell's State Trials*, xix, 1029). A modern instance is found in *The Queen v. Oxford* (1840) 4 *State Trials*, N.S. 497. The original warrant in Dr Freind's case is amongst the *Tower Records* (iii, 191).

16. Lord Townshends ord^r for a man and Maid serv^t to attend 1722-3
Doct^r Friend.

22. Lord Townshends order for the Serg^t. of the house of Commons to have admittance to the Bishop of Rochester with a copy of his bill¹ and an order for pen ink and paper.

19. Lord Townshends ord^r for Mr. Spence sergt of the house of Commons to have admittance to George Kelly with his bill and ord^r. for pen ink and Paper.

Order of the house of Commons to Let Council and Solicit^{rs}. attend George Kelly in privat, for his defence against the bill of certain pains and punishments now depending.

23. Lord Carterets order to Let Doct^r Chamberlin have admittance to Dennis Kelly as his Phisition.²

26. Lears Respit from execution to ye 3rd of May.

29. Order of the house of Commons to bring George Kelly to the bar of the house ye first of April.³

April ye 1.

The Spakers ord^r. to carry George Kelly back to the Tower and bring him the next day to the house.

N.B. The house sat on his bill for inflicting Pains and Penaltys on him and Sat till twelve this night.

.2. The Spakers order to carry George Kelly back to the Tower.

N. B. The house Sat this day from 10 in the Morning till 10 at night and ordered his bill to be read a 2^d time and this question carryd without devision and the bill committed.

April 6.

Lord Lincolns order to bring George Kelly and Dennis Kelly to the Cockpit,⁴ in order to their being examind by the Committty of Lords.

¹ The Bill of pains and penalties, which was read a first time in the Commons this day.

² Dr Chamberlen is authorized to attend Dennis Kelly in the presence of the Lieutenant or his Deputy, and the Physician of the Tower, by warrant of this date (*Tower Records*, iii, 137). Dr Freind who had attended him previously was now a prisoner (see entry of March 15).

³ For the second reading of the Bill of pains and penalties (*Tower Records*, iii, 177).

⁴ The Cockpit constructed by Henry VIII gave its name to the buildings which afterwards occupied the site. In the warrant dated April 6, the place of examination is described as "Lord Carteret's office"; in Lord Lincoln's letter of the same date, to which the above entry refers, it is called "The Cock-

1723
Ap. 6

6. Lord Townshends ord^r. for Ditto.
8. Order of the house of Lords to bring George Kelly to the bar of their house ye^e 29th. inst.
9. Order from the house of Lords to allow Councill and Sollicit^r, to George Kelly.¹
9. Order of the house of Lords to bring the Bishop of Rochester to the bar of their house the 2^d day of May.

1723 April 11.

- Plunkets² Committment to the Tower for high Treason.
11. Lord Carterets ord^r. for Beal an Apothecary to have admittance to Dennis Kelly.³
 11. Order from the House of Lords for Plunket to have pen ink and paper, and intimation for Councill.⁴
 13. Order for Mrs. Morris⁵ and Doct^r. Hugh Chamberlin⁶ to have access to the Bishop of Rochester in Presance of an officer.
 17. 2^d. order for Mrs Morris to be alone with the Bishop of Rochester.
 18. Order for Spears a messenger with others to be admitted to see George Kelly.
 20. Mr. Delafays⁷ Let^r. for Letting Monsieur Desmaré⁸ have a sight of George Kelly.

pit" (*Tower Records*, iii, 138, 139). The actual site of the Cockpit is now occupied by part of the Treasury buildings in Whitehall, and is behind No. 10 Downing Street. The expression "Treasury Chambers, Cockpit," was in use down to the middle of the nineteenth century (see art. "Lord Rosebery and Shakespeare," *Times*, May 8, 1911, and "Memoirs of Whitehall," *Globe*, same day).

¹ Upon Kelly's petition to the House of Lords that Sir Constantine Phipps and Nicholas Fazakerly might be allowed his counsel, and Mr Hugh Watson and Mr Dennis Kelly his solicitors, it was ordered accordingly, but omitting Dennis Kelly (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 469). Dennis Kelly may have been too nearly connected with one of the Kelly prisoners.

² See note "John Plunket," Appendix, p. 174, *infra*.

³ The warrant is dated March 31 (*Tower Records*, iii, 138). There was an apothecary attached to the Tower who held his place by warrant from the Constable (Bayley, *History of the Tower*, 667).

⁴ Probably the meaning is that Plunket is to have an interview with his counsel to enable him to prepare his defence.

⁵ Mrs Morice, Bishop Atterbury's daughter. See note "Bishop Atterbury," Appendix, p. 154, *infra*.

⁶ See entry, March 15, 1722-3.

⁷ Under Secretary of State and Secretary to the Lords Justices; compare entry of December 13, 1724.

⁸ April 15. Letter from Charles Delafaye to Colonel Williamson informing

24. Order of the house of Lords to bring John Plunket to the 1723 barr of their house the 26th inst. Ap. 24
26. Order of the house of Lords to carry Plunket back to the Tower and to bring him to their bar again to Morrow.
27. Ditto to carry him back to the Tower.
27. Order of the house of Lords not to bring G Kelly to the house till the 30.

April 28.

Lord Townshends ord'r. for Spears a Messenger with an other Person to have a view of G Kelly.

29. Ord'r. from the house of Lords to admit Mr. Pratt¹ to be Councill for and to be alone with George Kelly.

29. Order of the house of Lords to bring the Bishop of Rochester's 2 Servants to their house ye 2^d of May.

30. Kelly² remanded by the Lords order to the Tower and to be brought to their bar the next day.

May 1.

Kellys order for carrying him back to the Tower and bring him again the next day.

1. Order for the Bp. of Rochester not to be brought to the house of Lords till the 6th inst.

1. Order from the H. of Lords not to bring the Bps. 2 serv'ts to their barr til ye 6th inst.

2. A rule of Court for bringing Mr. Lear to the Kings bench barr to Morrow.³

Ord'r. to take back G Kelly from the H. of Lords to the Tower.

3. Order from the H. of Lords to bring the Bp. of Rochester to their barr ye 6th at 11 a clock.

5. Lord Townshends ord'r to keep Kelly and Plunket close Prisoners.⁴

him that Lord Townshend desires that Mr Francis Desmares may have a sight of George Kelly (*Tower Records*, iii, 180).

¹ John Pratt to be counsel for Kelly in the place of Nicholas Fazakerly (*Tower Records*, iii, 180).

² This and the next entry refer to George Kelly.

³ See note "Christopher Layer," Appendix, p. 164, *infra*.

⁴ The order directs that the proceedings in Parliament against George Kelly and James Plunket being fully ended, they are to be kept "under the same confinement as George Kelly was kept before such proceedings were begun" (*Tower Records*, iii, 183). The Acts of pains and penalties, passed in Plunket's case on April 29, and in Kelly's case on May 3, sentenced them to imprisonment

1723
May 6

42

GENERAL WILLIAMSON'S DIARY

6. Order of the house of Lords to carry the Bishop of Rochester back to the Tower and to bring him again to the bar next day.
7. Ord^r of the house of Lords to carry the Bis^p. of Roches^r. back to ye Tower and bring him next day at 10.
8. Ord^r. of the house of Lords to carry back the Bp. of Rochester to the Tower and bring him to their barr the next day.
9. Ord^r. of the House of Lords to take back the Bish^p. of Rochester to the Tower and bring him to the bar next day.
10. Ord^r. of the House of Lords to take back the Bp. of Rochester to the Tower and bring him to the bar next day.
11. Ord^r of the House of Lords to take back the Bp. of Rochester and bring him to the bar on Monday ye 13.
13. Ord^r. of the House of Lords to take back the Bp. of Rochester to the Tower. N.B. The Lords red his bill the 2^d. time and ye 15th. pass'd it by a majority of 84 to 43.
17. Ord^r. from the Kings Bench to deliver Lear to the Sherff of Midlx. for his execution, which I did at the east wharf gate, that being Middlesex; had he been to have dy'd on Tower hill the order woud then have been to deliver him to the Sheriffs of London and in that case he woud have been delivered to them at ye barrs on Tower hill.¹
18. Lord Townshends ord^r. for the Bishop of Rochester's relations and friends to have access to him at convenient hours.
25. Lord Townshends ord^r. for the Duke of Norfolks² L^d. Norths Mr Kellys³ and Mr. Cochran's friends to be admitted to 'em.
26. Lord Townshends ord^r. for Doctr. Mead to have access to and to be alone with Doctr. Friend.
28. Lord Townshends Letr. to my Lord Lincoln directing the constant fiering of our Guns for the future and all other demonstrations of Joy on the King birth day.

N.B. on this occasion we fired but 22 guns there being at this time no more in ord^r. or fit to fire, the carriages being broke and decay'd of ye others.⁴

28. A rule of Court to bring ye Duke of Norfolk, Lord North, Mr. during the King's pleasure. The Acts are given in full in *Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 468, 476.

¹ See note "Sheriffs of London and Middlesex and Layer's execution," Appendix, p. 176, *infra*.

² See note "Duke of Norfolk," Appendix, p. 177, *infra*.

³ This refers to Dennis Kelly as appears by the warrant (*Tower Records*, iii, 190).

⁴ In 1729 the number of guns to be fired on the King's birthday was fixed at 25 (see p. 63). Under the present regulations a Royal Salute at the Tower is 62 guns.

Denis Kelly and Mr. Cocheran to Judg Ayr's¹ Chambers in ord^r. 1723 to be admitted to bail, which I did accordingly. The 2 Lords were May 28 bound in 20000' each and four Suretys in 10000' each, the commoners each in 4000 and four bail in 2000 each, and then I dismisd 'em.

N.B. I had not the least present from 'em nor did I indeed expect that such thorough enemys to the Illustrious house of hanover shoud give mony to one who they knew was so warmly affected to King George and his family as I was.

June 17.

Mr. Wallpoole's order for carrying the Late Bishop of Rochester on board the Aldborough Man of War, in ord^r. for his banishment, which I did in the navey barge.

N.B. The ship lay at Long reach below Woolwich; as I had awlais been very ill treated by him I gave him three huzzaas at parting which was ye 18th. inst. and was rejoic'd to get rid of him.²

21. Doct^r. Friend³ baild out by four Phisitions, him self in 4000'. each bail in 2000. N.B. It being terme time he was oblidg to go to the Kings Bench Westminster hall, a Judg not being permitted to bail a prisoner for High Treason at his chambers but out of Term.

Mr. Walpoles order for Mr. Watson Mr. Kellys solicitor to have access to Mr. Kelly.⁴ N.B. it not being specified in the order that he shoud be a lone with him I order'd that a Warder shoud allwais be presant or an officer.

August 27.

Mr. Walpoles order for John de Perthe to have access to Plunket.⁵
1724 June 1.

Lord Lincolns order for Mr. Kelly⁶ to take the Air for one hour a day for 16 days.

¹ Sir Robert Eyre, Justice of the King's Bench, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

² See note " Bishop Atterbury," Appendix, pp. 157, 158, *infra*.

³ See note " Dr Freind," Appendix, p. 174, *infra*.

⁴ This refers to George Kelly. The interview related to the settlement of Mr Watson's costs. (*Tower Records*, iii, 184.)

⁵ In the course of this year (1723) a warrant issued to the Master of the Great Wardrobe to provide a large folio Bible for the use of the Warders at the Tower (*Cal. of Treasury Papers*, 1720-1728, p. 238).

⁶ This and the next four entries refer to George Kelly. The order was that he might take the air on the Parade and this was made upon the report of Dr Harvey. (*Tower Records*, iii, 184-186.)

- 1724 11. Lord Lincolns order to Admit Doctr. Brown¹ to Kelly.
 June 11 16. Duke of>Newcastles order for a Nurse and Apothecary to
 attend Kelly.
 17. Lord Lincolns order for Doctr. Mead to attend Kelly.

August 5.

Lord Lincolns order for Kellys being removed from the Gunners house to Madox the Warders No. 8.²

Xber the 13.

A Letter from Mr. Delafaye, Secretary to the Lords Justices, for fireing our Guns on the Kings Landing, in case his Majesty should either pass by the Tower or come over London Bridge in his way to London.

N.B. but as his Majesty did neither, but went directly to Lambeth and ferryd over there to Whitehall, we did not fire.

Xber y^e 25.

His Grace the Duke of Bolton³ made Constable of the Tower in the Roome of Lord Lincolne who was a generous good natured man, preferd to the place of Coferer to y^e King worth 3000£ $\frac{1}{2}$ an. His Grace gave me Leave to comitue to Live in his house; he him selfe never came to y^e Tower during his whole time.⁴

172⁴ April 15 [1725].

Earle of Lincolns grant to Collier for his drain from Katherine Court to y^e Sink by the end of Tower Street⁵

¹ Perhaps Sir William Browne (1692-1774), M.D. 1721, knighted in 1748. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

² See note "George Kelly," Appendix, p. 169, *infra*.

³ Charles Paulet, third Duke of Bolton (1685-1754), Constable of the Tower until September 1726 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He was Governor of the Isle of Wight from 1726 to 1733 and perhaps to this circumstance Williamson owed his appointment as Captain of Carisbrooke Castle. (See Introduction, p. 5).

⁴ On January 4, 1724-5, Williamson writes to the Constable or the Secretary of State with copies of treasonable ballads, that his lordship may see the wicked temper of the riotous miners in Wapping (*State Papers, Domestic*, George I. Bundle 55). One of the ballads runs thus:

"Potatoes is a dainty dish and Turnips is a springing,
 And when that Jemmy does come o'er we'll set the bells aringing.
 We'll take the Cuckold by the horns and lead him unto Dover,
 And put him in a leather boat and send him to Hannover."

⁵ The correct date is probably April 1725. Katherine Court opens on to Tower Hill on the north-west. The drain in question would be within the Liberty of the Tower.

January 21.

The house of Lords order for Committing Edward Earle of Suffolk Jan. 21
to the Tower, for having granted severall protections in writing in
breach of the Standing orders of the house and to the obstruction
of Publique Justice. Lodgd at my house.

N.B. the House being up he was at liberty ye 31 of May 1725.¹

May 27 1725.

The Earle of Macclesfield committed by the Lords, fined 30000 l.²
and to be kept in the Tower til it is pay'd—he Lodgd at my house
vit. the Constables.

July the 22^d.

The Earle payd the 30000^l. and left the Tower—he woud have made
me a handsom present for my civillitys to him and for his having
Lodg'd in my house during the time of his confinement but in regard
his fine was so heavy and that I thought him an honest man and
hardly delt by, I did not take one farthing from him

A. Williamson Dep'ty Lieut.

8^r. ye 19. 1725.³

For duty in the Tower, of the ten Company's of the First Regim^t.
of Guards. 1 Col^l. or Comand^t. and Subalterns.

That one officer 4 Serg^{ts}. 4 Corporals and 2 Drums with 72 Men
mount the Guard at the usual hour and in case of any alarm that
the officers and men are to forme them selves at their Barracks, and
march as soon as possible to the Parade, which is their alarm Post,
the Drums to beat at the usual hours, and that all Lights and fires
be put out in the Barracks as soon as the Tattoo has don beating
and the gates are Shut, and that no Soldier be found out of his
barracks after that time, except those on Guard; that no Women
or Children be suffered to lye in the Barracks or Settle among the
men; that a list be given in of the officers, the number of Serg^{ts}. Cor-
por^{ls}. and drums, and privat Men; that the Serg^t. Major attend the
Governour every morning at 9 for orders.

¹ See note "Earl of Suffolk," Appendix, p. 178, *infra*.

² See note "Earl of Macclesfield," Appendix, p. 178, *infra*.

³ This entry was made by Williamson, in a manuscript book of earlier records,
relating to the Tower, which appears to have come to him from his predecessor
in office. Being the only entry made by Williamson in the earlier book, it
seems to have been intended for the Diary.

1726 1726.

Sept. 8 Copy of My Lord Lonsdale¹ first Letr. to meLowther Sep^r. the 8th 1726

I receivd by the last Post the favour of your Letr. with a Tower Muster Roll inclosed. Since his Majesty has been please to appoint me Constable, I have the greatest Satisfaction in knowing that one so understanding and dilligent as your Self resides there and I desire you will believe that I shall do allwais everything in my Power towards making your Post agreeable to you.

I am, Sr, Your most humble servt. LONSDALE

To Col^l. Williamson.

Xber y^e 21, 1726.

Dy'd Tho: Sergant, Gentleman Porter,² who had been in that office thirty years; his distemper was a violent inflamation of the Lungs and Plura, which carryd him off in four days, occasiod by eating too freely of flesh meat noon and night, and liveing in all respects too voluptuously and using little exercise.

22. Our new Constable the Lord Vict. Lonsdale was presented to us in the Tower by the Duke of Grafton Lord Chamberlin; his Patent was read by Mr. Broncart clerk of the peace for the Tower Liberties³ and we afterwards had the honour of Dyneing with him at Pontacks⁴ at a guinea a head. A.W.

He was pleas'd to continue his Leave to me to live in his house as my predecessor did.

1727 Jañy y^e 9.

The Secretary of War's order to Permit the Batallion of the 2^d. Regimt. of Guards to march out of the Tower to excercise on Tower hill there not being room in the Tower.

¹ Henry, third Viscount Lonsdale (1694-1751), Constable of the Tower until August 1731. (Doyle, *Official Baronage*, ii, 411).

² As to this office, see above p. 35, note (9).

³ See entry of June 17, 1727, p. 49, where the Clerk of the Peace is called Bronker. He died November 4, 1734 (see entry of that date). As to the Tower Liberties, see p. 26, note (2) *supra*.

⁴ A celebrated tavern in Abchurch Lane which occupied part of the present site of Messrs Robarts, Lubbock & Co.'s bank (16 and 17 Lombard Street); Pontack's guinea ordinary is said to have included "a ragout of fatted snails" and "chickens not two hours from the shell." (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* sub. *nom.* "Pontack.")

Febry ye 4.

1726-7

Feb. 4

W^m. Pennington nephew to the Lord Lonsdale our Constable¹ was Sworn into the office of superior Porter of the Tower but the place of returning officer was given to Abraham Fowler the Gentleman Gaoler;² the s^d Mr. Pennington had the bar on the hill³ and the sheds thereto adjoining given to him, Let at about 13£ $\frac{1}{2}$ an. but he first acknowledged (as he truly ought) that he receivd it as the Constables gift and goodness, and not as any right or claime to it as some of his predecessors had formerly without ground or reason don.

March ye 4. All the doors of Warders houses and others belonging to the Constable, were numberd by figures being painted on them so that hereafter it will be known where prisoners were Lodgd, if this book be preserved and the method continued.³

9. John Strahan of Leeth in Scotland merch^t⁴ comitted to the Tower on suspition of high Treason; Lodgd at No. 11 close Prisoner by Lord Townshends Warrant.

N.B. before he went to his confinement his pockets and trunk were search'd (as they allwais shoud be of a close Prisoner) leste pens and Ink for correspondance, or dangerous instruments for an escape, be in their possesion; an ink horne with pens was found in his pocket and taken from him.

March 10.

Lord Townshends order to admit the Lord Advocate of Scotland to John Strahan.

22. Orders for suffering ten Companys of the first Regiment of Guards to march into the Tower to go on board Hoys that are to carry em to their Transports at Deptford, for the defence of Gibraltar, at this time 50 days besieged by the Spaniards.

23. They came, and embarkd cheerfully with loud huzzaas at going off.

¹" Superior Porter," i.e. Gentleman Porter; *see* entry December 21, 1726.

² " Returning Officer," i.e. of the Tower Liberty; *see* p. 26, note (2), *supra*. As to the office of Gentleman Gaoler, *see* p. 28, note (1) *supra*.

³ On the west side of the Tower.

⁴ These numbers cannot now be identified.

⁴ John Strachan. *See* below, entries of March 10, April 1 (where he is incorrectly called Charles Strachan), June 3, June 4.

1727
Mar. 25

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GENERAL WILLIAMSON'S DIARY

25. The Constable ordered the Deputy Lieut for the time being to take care of Tower hill from the bar to Iron gate¹, that no dirt or nuisance be Layd on it, and that for the future, the Gentleman Porter shoud not have anything to do with it but confine his authority within his Keys.

26. The Constable was pleas'd to give Leave (as all former Constables had don since my time and before) for me to go into the Country on the returne of the Tower Major, and that one of us being on the Spot, the other might without further Leave obtaind, go into the Country at all times when his health or affairs required it.

27. The Constable was pleas'd to give N^o. 3 the late Porters house to the Goaler N^o. 9 y^e Goalers to y^e Yeoman Porter and No. 7 to Trotter the Warder all gratis.

April 1. Lord Townshends order for Charles Strachan to walk once a Day in the Tower with an officer or Warder for his health; the Constable refused him and all others who have Leave to walk for their health only, to go to Church or be admitted to speake with any body in their Walks.

June y^e 3. Duke of>Newcastles order for bringing Strahan before him in order to be baild.

4. The Dukes order for the Discharge of Jn^o. Strahan.²

14. News ariv'd of good King Georges suddain death at Osnabrug.

15. The Councils order for firing our guns the hour the King was proclaimed before his Court at Leicester house, which was this day at eleven a clock with universal Joy.

15. The Lords of the Councils order for us to proclaim the King in the Tower in the Liberties and in the Hamlets, Proclamation inclosd.

17. King George the 2^d. was proclaimed accordingly with Joy and great acclamations of the People.

8ber. y^e 11 . 1727.³

King George the 2 . was proclaim'd in pursuance of an order from

¹ This includes the west, north and east boundaries of the Tower. "Iron Gate"; see p. 88, note (2) *infra*.

² The warrant recites that Strachan has entered into a recognizance with sufficient sureties for his appearance before the Lords of Justiciary at Edinburgh. (*Tower Records*, iii, 200).

³ This entry is inserted at folio 1 of the volume under this date but evidently belongs to June 17, 1727. The 11th October was the date of the Coronation (see below).

1727
June 17

the P. Council, by the Rt. Hon^{ble}. the Lord Visct. Lonsdal Constable of the Tower of London and L^d. Lt. of the Hamlets, first on the Parade, Tower Hill, Whitechapp^l, Spittlefields Market, Shadwell Market and Ratcliff Cross, the accustom'd places, within his Lordships Jurisdiction, being attended by the Lieut^t, Deputuy Lt^t, and the other officers of the Tower, Justices of the Peace and Principal Gentry in their Coaches, Leet Jury, Warders and Peace officers, the Solemn concourse of People on this occasion was very great, all expressing their hearty Joy and affection to his Sacred Majesty with Loud acclamitions, the Guns fired round the Ramparts the Standard displayd, and at night bonfires in the usual places, and illuminations. First went the High Constable, Pety Constables and Beadles¹, after followd on Horsback the Deputy Sherif and Clerk of the Peace after them the Forty Warders, two and two, after them the Constable in his Coach with a Warder on each Side, then the Lieut^t. in his Coach, the Deputy Lt^t. in his coach, and the other Gentlemen in their coaches, then the Gentlemen on horsback &c. At the Several Places the Clerk of the Peace Bronker read the Proclamation which was, sentence by sentence, Loudly Proclaimed by the Deputy Sherif Fowler,² who was at that time Tower Gaoler, being surrounded by the Warders, at the time of Proclamation, the Constable, officers, and Gentlemen sitting in their Coaches all the while. The Major Continued in the Tower during the Proclamation.

June 17. Mr. St. Amand Steward of the Tower Court³ dyed, and was succeeded by Mr. Blinco, in the gift of the Constable.

7^{ber}. ye 28.

Secretary at Wars Let^r. to admit 9 Companys of the 3^d. Regimt. of foot Guards to Relieve the Coldstream in their Duty of the Tower.

8^{ber}. ye 10. The Secretary at Wars order for the Batallion doing Duty in the Tower to attend at his Majesties Coronation.

N.B. we kept the Coll. and 2 Subs. with a hundred men to keep guard in the Tower.

11. We sent 26 Warders who were delivered to the Commanding

¹ Officers of the Tower Court; as to which court, see note, Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

² Deputy Sheriff of the Liberty of the Tower; *see* entries January 13, 1731-2; March 26, 1741.

³ As to the Tower Court, *see* note, Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

1727
Oct. 11

Officer of the Yeomen of the Guard at Six a Clock in the morning at Whitehall, by the Tower Porter, who after he had deliverd 'em Left em incorporated with the Yeomen of the Guard for the Service of the Coronation, and under the command of their officers.

Cornelious, our Master Gunner Dy'd of Old age after he had serv'd in that Station 40 years; he was a man of good sense and probaty and was succeeded by Tho. Harwood Sergt. in the Train, an Illiterate Sott.¹

9ber 6. The Warders Warrants having been renewd by the Constable on account of the demise of the King, they all took the Oath following to his Presant Majesty King George 2^d. whom God grant Long to Reigne.

N.B. Each Warder gave my Serv^t. one shilling as a fee.

The Warders Oath.

You shall Swear to Serve the High and Mighty Prince George by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the faith, and his Heirs and Successors Lawfull Kings or Queens of this Realm, both faithfully and truly in the office that you are now calld unto, that is, to be an ordinary yeoman warder of the Tower of London, and in all things touching his honour and Safety, you shall neither your Selfe do, Procure or give consent to be done anything that shall be prejudicial to his Majestys Person, State or honour. And if you shall hear or understand of any bodily hurt, Dishonor or prejudice to his Majesty or any of the Royal Family, or to the Tower of London, you shall do as much as in you Ly's to hinder the same, or to disclose to the Kings Majesty or to such of his Privey Councill or your Commanding officer as you may best come unto, and by all wais and means you can to make the same truly to be known. Moreover you Shall Serve no man for Wages Livery or fee, without the consent of his Majesty or his Council.

You shall be obedient to the Chief Governr. of the Tower your Captain, and also to such officers there as are to have the Command over you in the Tower, you shall not depart or absent your selfe from your Service in the Tower into the Country without the Licence of the Chief Goverour or other your comanding officer.

You shall keep his Majestys Peace your self in the Tower and in all other Places, and see the same kept by others as much as in you Lyeth.

¹ He proved a better man than Williamson anticipated. (See entry March 4, 1729-30). The orders given to Harwood on his appointment are at p. 31, *supra*.

GENERAL WILLIAMSON'S DIARY

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All these things I will well and truly do observe and keep, so
help me God and the contents of this Book.¹

1727
Nov. 6

1727 Xber ye 2^d.

Trimble our eldest Gunner, having run in many people's debt, and absenting him selfe from his duty for near a year, was superseeded and succeeded by Edmond Thornly, who had been a Trooper in the Duke of Argyles Regimt. of Horse; both this man and the Master Gunner was put in by the Duke of Argyll Master of the Ordnance, without any regard to the Constable's recommendation.

11. The King having granted five Shillings $\frac{1}{2}$ day to George Kelly and as much to John Plunket for their subsistance in the Tower, as his Royall Father had don, I signed both their receipts which was sent to the Sollicitor of the Treasury, and the mony receivd from him as before.²

12. I got Mr. James Mace a Lad not thirteen years of age to draw Mr. Plunket the Prisoners picture,³ and behind him in Shade John Tuder his Warder, who was a very faithfull and carefull fellow; he had been Lord Lucas's running footman when Lt. of the Tower and by him made Warder.

I finde that formerly the Lt. of the Tower had a Patant by which he took customs of Wine, oysters, and other Victuals passing by the Tower but this was made void by act of Parliam^t. 9th of Richard ye 2^d. No. 30 as may be seen in Cooks reports part the 12. 8^{vo}. p. 36. This I write because the tradition was at my coming to the Tower, strong, that we had a right to it, but if that act had not passd, others have since, by which the King is incapacitated from taking anything from the Subject but by consent of Parliament, and has not power to give such Patants.⁴

20. The Tower Court was held, and there being Causes to be heard,

¹ This form of oath seems to have been framed in Lord Lucas's time as it refers to the "Chief Governor" of the Tower; see List of Chief Officers, p. 22, *supra*.

² See p. 32, *supra*.

³ Plunket was remarkable for his ugliness; see note "John Plunket," Appendix, p. 175, *infra*.

⁴ See note "Prisage of wine and provisions," Appendix p. 178, *infra*.

1727 I sent as formerly two Warders with their Halbards, to Attend in
Dec. 20 Court for the honour of it, each had 1^s. $\frac{1}{2}$ cause allowd him.¹

1 March 172 $\frac{1}{8}$.

This being Queen Carolines birth day We fired our guns round the Ramparts; the Warders were all orderd to be at my doore as I was commanding Officer where we drank the Kings, the Queens, Prince Ferderick and the rest of the Royall Familys health; Prosperity to the Tower of London, the Constable his officers and Warders, in all 5 healths. This we did in good Port wine while our guns were firing, and afterwards I orderd the Warders to forme a Circle about the Officers and after the Yeoman Porters crying with aloud voice:

GOD BLESS KING GEORGE QUEEN CAROLINE AND THE REST OF THE ROYALL FAMILY

I dismisssd 'em to finish the Joy of the day with the remaining part of 24 bottles of wine, which the King allows on the birth days of him selfe and Royal Consort, to the Warders and Gunners Viz: 21 to the 40 Warders and 3 to the Gunners, being 4 and a Master Gunner. At night we had a bone fire on the Hill and a barill of beer was given to ye Sergt. and 12 men who were sent to guard it and to the inhabitants on the Hill.

Coppy of a Let^r. I writ to my Lord Lonsdale² on the Commandants refusing to Obey his Orders:

Tower of London March the 3^d 172 $\frac{1}{8}$.

My Lord,

I gave your Lordships Orders to Col^l. Ridley, for being with a hundred men on the wharfe to morrow at one a clock,³ his answer was, that he had orders from his own field officers, and that he woud March at his owne time, and take no orders from you. I told him the orders you were pleas'd to send him by me, you had from his Majestys owne Mouth; he sayd unless he saw it under his Majesty's

¹ There was not much business in the Tower Court at this period, as appears by the entry of May 29, 1728, and see note, Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

² The Constable.

³ On the visit of the Dutch Ambassadors (see below). At this time the garrison consisted of nine companies of the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, Williamson's old regiment (see entry, September 28, 1727, and Introduction, p. 5).

owne hand, or the Secretary at War, he woud not obey'em. The orders he had from Col^l. St. Clare forbidding him, which orders being in Writing he was pleas'd for your Lordships satisfaction to show me, wherein it is sayd he is to march and dismiss his men without taking notice of anybody.

1727-8
Mar. 3

Col^l. Ridley sends his humble respects to your Lordship and desired me to acquaint you, that he has sent to Col^l. St. Clair to Let him know the Orders your Lordsp^t. sent him by me, but at the same time he desires me to let you know that unless his orders are contradicted by his field officer, his Majesty, or Mr. Pelham, he cannot obey your Orders. I thought it my duty immediatly to informe your Lordship of this becaus it may be some Surprise to you to see a body of armd men to morrow in the Tower or on the Wharf who will take no Notice of your Lordship as Constable.

I am my Lord &c., A. Wmson.

N.B. On my Lord Lonsdels complaining of the above to Lord Dunmore the Col^l. of the Regimt. orders were sent to obey the Constable.¹

(March 4th. 1727-8)

Disposition of the Entry of the Hollands Embassadours as it related to us in the Tower, March the 4th. 1727

Three days before the Entry Mr. English deputy Master of the Ceremony came to the Tower, to acquaint me that the Embassadours woud come from Greenwich in the Kings Barges and desired they might have leave to Land at the Kings Stairs² on the Wharfe at three a Clock and that their Coaches might be admitted on the Wharfe when they came; he went to Col^l. Armstrong the then Commanding officer of the Ordnance to desire the Wharf Guns might be fired on the Occasion. The Constable orderd a Col^l. of the Guards the then Commandant to be on the Wharf at 2 a Clock, with 100 men and Colours, to range his men in two lynes from the Kings

¹ On this subject, *see* further, entries May 23, 1728, and August 7, 1731, p. 72, *in/r/a*. The difficulty was overcome on the visit of the Dutch Ambassadors by the Commandant of the Garrison being directed by his Field Officer to obey the written or verbal orders of the Constable himself. (See Lord Lonsdale's Memorial to the King, May 23, and the King's order, June 26, 1728, pp. 55, 59, *in/r/a*).

² At the east end of the Wharf. In earlier times these afforded the most direct means of access to the royal apartments which were in the south-eastern portion of the Tower.

1727-8
Mar. 4

Stairs to the Wharf Gate,¹ and to salute the Embassad^{rs}. with Colours as they passd by. Our Warders were all orderd to Attend, and were ready at the Hall, and on notice of the Embassad^{rs}. being in sight, the Constable who was in the great Room of his owne house next the Thamis, went with all his Officers, the back way through the Sutling house, and there the Warders received him, and March before him 2 and 2, to the Wharfe Stairs, and Lyned the Stairs from the Waters edge to the side of the Kings Coach which waited for 'em.² Here the Constable and his officers attended at the head of the Stairs for about 4 minutes in which time the Barges with several of the Kings Household officers appointed to attend the Embass^{rs}. arived and Landed 'em; there were 4 of these Barges, a fifth being the Kings State Barge arived last with the Embassadours. The Constable receivd em at the head of the Stairs and Made a Compliment to em on the Occasion which they answerd.

The Master of the Ceremonys Stood at the Head of the Stairs, to let the Embassadours know the Constable, the Lieut^t. Gener^l. Comp^{ton} and my Selfe, the Dep^ty. Lt^t. and presented us to their Excellencies. This ceremony being over, the Embassad^{rs}. entered the Kings Coach which attended with the door open to receive 'em and So proceeded. The wharf Guns were not orderd to fire till all the Coaches were gon off the Wharf for fear of mischief to the People in the Coaches, it having happened on an Embassy that the horses of a Coach by firing too soon, took a fright and they and the Coach fell off the Wharf in to the River.

N.B. Our State Guns did not fire on this occasion and I gave orders for the Wharfe Gates to be kept shutt and the Draw Bridg³ to be drawn up, the Gates of the Tower likewise to be shutt and none to be admitted but through the Wicket, and to keep out all

¹ The wharf was enclosed by gates at each end which were shut at night. The gate referred to was probably that at the western end.

² "The great room of his owne house next the Thamis" no doubt refers to the "King's House," in which Williamson lived, and on the second floor of which was a room called the Council Chamber, overlooking the Thames. The Sutling House was probably the Warders' Sutling House referred to in the entry of April 17, 1736. The Constable's procession probably crossed to the Wharf by the draw-bridge at the south-west corner of the Tower. The Warders lined the King's Stairs and the soldiers lined the route from the head of the stairs to the Wharf Gate. The double palisade from the head of the King's Stairs to the moat, shown on the plan, (*see* Frontispiece), had probably been removed before the year 1728.

³ "The draw-bridge": *see* last note.

1727-8
Mar. 4

those that did not belong to the Tower, to suffer no Inhabitants or Servants to go on the Wharfe. I orderd 2 Corporals with 6 men each, to be Posted at each Wharf Gate, and to put out Sentinells from them at proper distances all along the Wharfe to hinder people from Landing on it; by this means the Wharfe was kept Clear, and everything went well. I likewise reinforc'd the Spur¹ with three men, in all 12 a Corporl. and Sergt. A few days after the Embassad^{rs}. sent 4£ to the Warders 2£ to y^e Labours. of the Ordnance. The Embassad^{rs}. went to Summerset house through Crutchet Fryers, and stayd there and were entertaind at the Kings Expence till the 7th. and then made their entry to their audience of his Majestie at St. Jameses.

April y^e 2^d 1728.

The Several Pictures or Academic Figures painted on the Pannels in the great room up two pair of Stairs were drawn and painted by G. Williamson My Nephew² who had been 3 years abroad in France Chiefly to Learne to draw at the Academies at Paris Antwerp &c., these are the first things he ever did in oyle or anyway with a pensill. The Great and Good Duke of Argyle was pleasead to make him a Lieut. in the Ordnance his Commission dated Jañry y^e 1 1727; he had been before 6 years a Cadet in it and a good Mathematitton.

April 19 1728

The Secretary at Wars order for the Batallion of the 3^d. Regim^t. of foot guards to march out of the Tower to exercise as often as they think necessary for their better discipline.

May 23. The Lord Lonsdale gave the following Memorial to his Majesty on the Garisons refusing to pay obedience to him or his officers³

To the Kings most Excellent Majestie.

The Memorial of the Lord Viscount Lonsdale Constable of your Majestys Tower of London
Sheweth

That several Disputes have arisen betwixt the Officers holding

¹ See p. 33, note (3) *supra*.

² See Introduction, p. 8. The "great room up two pair of stairs" was known as the Council Chamber. Bayley refers to some rude paintings in this room in 1820 and adds in a note: "These are now covered over with wainscot." (*History of the Tower*, 130).

³ See Williamson's letter of March 3, 1727-8, p. 52, *supra*.

1728
May 23

Command in the sd. Tower and the Officers of the three Regimts. of foot Guards doing Duty there, for ending of which your Memorialist hath endeavour'd to inform himself at the Secretary of Wars office what orders have been enterd there relating to the duty of the said Garrison of the Tower, but is told there are no orders or regulations entered in the said office concerning the Garrison duty of the said Tower of London or of any other of your Majestys Garrisons, wherefore your Memorialist most humbly begs leave to lay the State of these matters in dispute before your Majesty, and submit them to your Majestys Pleasure

The Officers Commanding in the Tower are
The Constable

The Lieutenant, who by your Majestys letter Patents in the Absence or during such time as the office of Constable shall be vacant is to exercise and perform all powers and Authoritys matters and things whatsoever, relating to the said office, in as full and Ample a Manner as the said Constable might or could do if he were personally prest.

The Deputy Lieutenant to whom your Majesty has by your Commission given full power and authority in the absence of the Lieutenant to exercise all the Singular powers and Authority granted unto the said Lieutenant, in as full or ample manner as the said Lieutenant might or ought to do.

The Major, who by his Commission is carefully and Dilligently to discharge the Duty of Major of the said Garrison in the Tower of London and your Majesty hath likewise directed by an order under your signe Manual, that the Major of the Tower of London shall hold Command therein in the absence of the Constable Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenant.

There are at present in Garrison in the Tower, nine Companies of the third Regiment of Foot Guards, and your Memorialist most humbly begs leave to represent to your Majesty, that whenever there is occasion for Regimental Courts Martial such Courts Martial are held in the Tower without the leave or knowledge of the officer Commanding the Tower, and their Sentances are put in execution without being communicated to him, in consequence of which, it is now become impossible for such officer to know when any Man is punished for a Breach of his Duty in the Garrison, tho' he himself has confined him, and from hence it will also follow, that whenever it shall be necessary for the sake of Discipline to draw out the Men upon the punishment of any Offender, the Officer commanding the

Tower may find the whole Garrison under Arms without his knowing
the Occasion of it

1728

May 23

The Officer of the Guard makes his report every Morning to the Officer Commanding the Tower, but makes no Reports of Prisoners for what Crimes soever they are confined.

The Commandant has insisted that all orders should be given out in his Name, and not in the Name of the Deputy Lieutenant when the Constable and Lieutenant are absent.

The Commandant hath refused to send a Detachment out of the Tower, when it was order'd by the Deputy Lieutenant in the absence of the Constable and Lieutenant, and almost all the Serjants of the Garrison have been ordered to Whitehall with^t the leave of the Officer commanding the Tower, or without so much as acquainting him they were to be absent.

The Commandants of the Garrison think themselves obliged to obey the orders of their own Feild Officers preferably to the orders of the Constable, an instance of which was seen at the Entry the last Dutch Ambassadors, when your Memorialist having received your Majestys Orders relateing to the Guard to be drawn out for their reception, sent the same to the Commandant by the Deputy Lieutenant, but the Commandant having before receiv'd orders for that Duty from his own Feild Officer, who happen'd at that time to be the Feild Officer in waiting, acquainted the Deputy Lieutenant that he could not obey the Constables orders, or salute him as is always customary when he comes to the Tower, his Feild officer having order'd him to dismiss his Men without takeing Notice of any body.—The Commandant afterwards acquainted the Deputy Lieutenant that he was ordered by his Feild Officer to salute the Constable when he came to the Tower, but he cou'd not obey his Orders.

Upon the Day of entry the commandant was ordered by his Field Officer to obey such orders of the Constable as he shou'd receive from the Constables own Mouth, or shou'd be signed by the Constables own hand, and as the Constable went that Day to the Tower to receive the Ambassadors at their Landing, this last change of Orders prevented the disturbances which otherwise might have happened.

All this uncertainty of command, may have dangerous consequences to your Majestys service, Your Memorialist most humbly beseecheth your Majesty that you'll be pleased to give such Directions for the Regulation of this, as well as of the other

1728 particulars herein mentioned as to your Majesty shall seem
May 23 propper.

The above Memorial was grounded on the following representation which I Layd before him

My Lord,

In obedience to your Lordships commands, I lay before you the different manner that the present Garison observe in their Duty in the Tower to what was practic'd by the first Regimt. of Guards which marchd in to the Tower in the year 1723, and to all former Garisons here

1. First, the Battallion of the 3rd. Regimt. of Guards now in garison here have refused to obey your Lordships Commands tho I have by your Order shew'd 'em to the Commandant under your owne hand.

2. They have refused to let detatchments march out of the Tower, when they have been wanted for his Majestys Service and all the Sergants of the Battallion have been orderd out of the Tower without acquainting your Officers.

3. The Commandant has directed all orders to be given out in his name, and not as the Governors orders which were obeyd by the Sergt. Major.

4. No raport is made of Prisoners for what So ever crimes committed.

5. No Leave askd for holding Court Martials.

6. No Sentence of Court Martials are shew'd to your Officers.

7. Men are consequently whipt before your Lordships Door and your Officers are not inform'd of the crime, nor So Much as Satisfied, whether their Offences were Regimentall or Related to the Tower duty or the Safety of it tho they have been askd.

If your Officers confine men for neglect of duty they are never inform'd of their punishment, nor when discharg'd, all which, My Lord is humbly Submitted to your Consideration and is contrary to what was formerly Practiced

by your Lordships
most humble
and obedient Servt.

A. Williamson
Dep^{ty}. Lieut.

M^r. Blenco Steward of the Tower Court¹ dyed in his cirquit in

¹ See note, Appendix, p. 161.

Yorkshire. He was a young Gentleman of fine parts well beloved 1728 and of great hopes, his place of Steward was given by the Constable May 23 to Mr. Robinson Solliciter to the Post office.

May ye 29

Ordered by the Constable that two warders shoud attend the Stewards Court in their proper habits and Partisans when Causes are to be try'd, and each Warder is to have a Shilling for every cause try'd as their fee, but causes being seldom try'd there, it turns to little profit.

1728 June ye 17.

The Secretary at War's order for Suffering the Batallion of the 3d. Regimt. of foot Guards to March out to be Review'd by his Majesty in Hide Park, and to be reliev'd by a detachment out of Kirks or Harisons Regimt. for that day.

N.B. They sent a detatchment of both Regimts. and reliev'd the guard the morning before ye Review and kept it 48 hours, the guards being too much fatigued by the Review and exercise, for they March'd out at four in the morning to Hide Park, and the Review and exercise fireing &c was not over til five in the afternoon.

June ye 26.

In answer to the Representation I Layd before the Constable, and his Memorial to his Majesty, the King was Pleas'd to Issue the Following orders¹

George Rex.

Whereas the Constable of our Tower of London hath humbly represented to us, that many disputes have arisen between him selfe, the Lieut. and Dep'ty Lt. of the Tower of London, and the officers belonging to our Regimt. of foot Guards doing duty there, for want of some proper Regulation from us, OUR WILL and PLEASURE THEREFORE IS, THAT the Constable, Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenant, or other officer of the Tower, have the Command and Directions of Everything relating to the Tower.

That what ever relates to the Detail or Discipline of the Regimt. quarterd there, be under the Direction and command of the Officer Commanding the Said Regimt.

¹ See entry of May 23, 1728.

1728 That the Said commanding Officer have liberty to hold Courts
 June 26 Martiall for the Tryall of any Soldier for a Regimental Offence,
 without acquainting the Commanding Officer of the Tower, but
 before any Sentence is put in Execution he is to give notice thereof
 to the officer commanding the Tower.

That when the Colonel or other Commanding Officer of a Regiment
 shall Judge it necessary to have any Part of the Regiment out of
 the Tower, for the more convenient Exercising of his Men, he is
 to acquaint the Constable, or other Commanding Officer therewith.

That all Orders given out by the Deputy Lieut. in the Absence
 of the Constable and Lieutenant, be of the same force and effect,
 as if Delivered out by the Constable him self.

That such Compliments be payd to ye Constable and Lieut.
 agreeable to what has allways been heretofore practis'd there.

That the Command of the Tower be in the Absence of the Con-
 stable in the Lieut. and When he is Absent then to be in the Deputy
 Lieutenant, and when he may be also absent, then to devolve upon
 the Major.

And of these our orders the Officers of our Tower of London as
 well as those belonging to our Regiments of foot Guards and all
 others whom these may concern are to take notice, and Govern
 themselves accordingly.

Given at our Court at Richmond this 26th. day of June 1728
 in the second year of our Reign

By his Majestys Command

H. PELHAM.

A true Copy R^d. Arnold.

N.B. The originall of the above Regulation signed by his Majesty,
 is Lodg'd in the Secretary at Wars office.

July ye 4.

Went with the Constables Leave to my house in Oakinghā¹
 Berks where I stayd till ye 7th. of 8^{ber}.

8^{ber}. ye 24th.

The Secretary at Wars Order for the Battallion of the 3^d. Rgt. to
 be reliev'd by ten Companys of the First Regimt. of Guards.

¹ Obsolete form of " Wokingham." The ordnance map of 1816 has " Wok-
 ingham or Oakingham."

1728 Xbr. ye 7.

1728
Dec. 7

Francis Astry a Soldier Posted on Leggs Mount¹ during the time he was Sentinell broke open a window adgoyning to his Post and Stole thence Several Parcels of Womens Linnen apparil, which were that night found upon him in his Barrac; he confessd the fact and I committed him to Newgate. N.B. he was y^e only son of rich Parents who allowd him double pay, and by their interest he was not prosecuted.

Xbr y^e 17.

Gray the Water Pumper² dy'd he had his Post given to him by Warrant from Lord Lincoln our Constable but at the choice and recommendation of the Board of Ordnance who pretended that he understood the Water Machine, and could mend it if out of order.

He succeeded one Holford whose father before him had been Water Pumper and allowd the sd. Holfords Widow 12!. $\frac{1}{2}$ an. out of his Pay for her maintenance she being extreamly poor; he was succeeded by John Littlewood, at the recommendation of the Ordnance as before, and had the house by traiters gate³ given him by the Constable, as the other had.

Xbr. y^e 27. A large Cormorant perched on the Southeast Pinacle of the Weather Cock of the White Tower; we shot him and sent him to S^r Hans Sloane Kings Phisition and president of the Royall Society. N.B. it had froze hard for ten days before, and much Snow Lay on the ground, the Thames was not however frozen over, but our Water

¹ The bastion at the north-west angle of the outer wall, called Legge Mount in the accompanying plan (see Frontispiece), and said to be named after George Legge, first Earl of Dartmouth, who was Master General of the Ordnance from January 1681-2, Governor of the Tower from June 1685 to December 1688, and died a prisoner there in October 1691. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Lord Ronald Gower, *Tower of London*, i, 52). The plan purports to be drawn by order of Lord Dartmouth as Master General of the Ordnance.

² The water engine is referred to in the entry of July 19, 1746. It was in the tower at the Traitors' Gate and was used for pumping water into a tank at the top of the White Tower for the supply of the garrison. After the Restoration rolling mills for use in the Mint were set up, and these were driven by horse and water power, probably in connexion with the tank. (*Historical Description of the Tower*, 1754; Canon Benham, *Tower of London*, 11).

³ The Traitors' Gate had ceased to be used for the entrance of State prisoners. A barge was prepared to carry Bishop Atterbury to the Tower, but by his request he was allowed to be conveyed in his own coach. (*Portland MSS.* vii, 332). In 1746 the rebel lords were conveyed by land. (*In Historical Description of the Tower of London*, 1754, p. 7).

1728 Dec. 27 Cocks were all stodp by it, for which reason I repeated the orders for the Serg^{ts} and Corporals to take great care, to see all fires and candles put out in the Barracks after ye Gates were shutt, and I sent to the inhabitants to take care of their fire and candle.

It is likewise to be noted that the feathers of this Birds tail were frozen fast together and at the end out stuck a piece of Ice as big as a large Wallnut, which probably incomoded the creature more than the coldness of the air or water, and with the flakes of Ice which then swam doun the river in abondance, was the cause of its quittting the Thames, where they are frequently seen feeding as high as Woolwich.

Xbr. ye 19. Sr Hans Sloane was pleasd to send me the Following Let^r.

To the Hon^{ble}. Coll. Williamson &c.

Sr,

I return you mymost hearty thanks for the great present you made me of the bird, which was a plain Cormorant, and puts an end to the conjectures and prophecys about it. They love to perch upon rocks in or near the Sea and often upon Steeples in hard weather which forces them within Land. I dissected it to see the inward parts, which differ from other birds, and found his Stomach full of small Eels like worms, the bones of fishes and a pretty large fish which I took to be a small Tench, the fore part of which so far as it was in the stomach was digested, but towards the tail which was in the gullet, it remained intire and incorrupted. Several other parts were singular to this sort of bird wh. made it the more acceptable present to

Yr. most Obed^t. and most hum^{le}. serv^t.

Hans Sloane.

1728 March ye 1.

This being her Majestys Birthday, I orderd our Guns round the Tower to fire, a bonfire was made on the hill, and a Barril of Beer given to the Populace as usual. I made a fine suit of Cloaths for the occasion and went to Court, where the Appartments were so crowded that there was scarce room to stir in 'em.

1729. March 18th. Some difficultys having been raisd by the People without,¹ about the mentainence of the poor who had gained

¹ The people of the Tower Liberty residing outside the Tower (*see* p. 26, note (2)).

settlements by having lived in the Tower, and they having distrained on Several of the Inhabitants within rather than go to Law with them, we agreed with the overseers and some of the most wealthy men without, to give 'em yearly 70£. and we appointed by a Vestry of the Inhabit^s. within, our owne over Seers and a yearly rate to the amount of the sd. 70£ (viz.)

the Garrison, or our part	10	4	2
The Ordnance	42	12	4
the Mint	17	3	6

The sd sum was collected and payd to the overseers without, without account, it being agreed, that they shou'd annually receive that sum be our poor More or fewer, and for the sd. sum in hand payd they shoud mentain our present poor and all such as for the future should become chargable to us.¹

It was ordered by the Master of the Ordnance that for the future 25 guns of the smalest nature and no more, be fired round the Tower on these days only vzt.

The King's Birth day 8^{br.} ye 30th.
on the Queens Birth day March ye 1st.
on the Birth of a Prince or Princess
and on the Kings returne from a broad

N.B. This the Constable aquiest in.

1729 8br. ye 17.

Secretary at Wars order to Suffer the Battallion of the first Regimt. to be reliev'd by a Battallion of the Cold Stream. N.B. They marchd in the 24.

8br. ye 19. The inhabitants without, believing that in Law we ought to contribute to the mentainance of their poor, as well as our owne, in regard that we were wealthyer, and our houses more in number, disagreed to the Solemn bargain they had Last year Made with us,² and rated us in their owne way, and distrained on Severall inhabitants within, for non payment, this was the More extraordinary for that they were the same Men with Whome we had made our bargain that thus treated us. On this we commenced a Law Suit with them, which was carried on at the expence of the Ordnance and Mint.³

¹ See entries October 19, 1729; April 7, 1730; December the last, 1730; January 19, 1730-1.

² See entry March 18, 1728-9.

³ A full statement of the case for the Tower Within is contained in a letter

1729 Nov. 17 9br. 17. I had two elm trees planted, one before the Constables house in which I Live and the other before the door of the Warders Watch house, so that both trees cou'd be seen from the front of the house¹

9br. 18. Our warrants for two Does signed by the King as usuall were delivered to us, as were our warrants last June for our two Bucks.

And it has allwais been Customary for the Constable if he has a Park, to make his officers a present yearly of a Buck and a Doe, as the Duke of Bolton did.

1729 9br. ye 8.

Seeing the great danger that might attend the burying by Lantern Lights in regard that many Men were hired to carry Lanterns, and others might come in, under the pretence of being relations friends or otherwais obliged by the undertaker to attend the Corps, I orderd for the future, that all burials shou'd be by daylight, and that the Labourers and others belonging to the Tower, shoud be the persons chiefly employd at the funerals.

X br.

I Lay'd a square Marble Stone near four inches thick and two foot five inches diameter over the grave of my Dearly belovéd wife Catharine in the Chapel of the Tower in which grave I designe to Lye My Selfe; and I make this earnest request that my Successors wou'd be Pleasd to give effectual orders, that our bones may not be disturbed, by burying other people in our grave. N.B. The Stone Lyes within a yard of the first step of the Communion table, in the Midle of the Ile, and has on it the Just character of that excellent good creature, but it was too small to contain the hundredth part of the commendable things which might Justly have been Sayd of her. She had good Sense, with the Meekness of an Angel, and never had

from H. Haynes to the Constable of the Tower, dated December 21, 1727, and in a Memorial prepared at the same time. The Memorial deals at length with the history of the Chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula, and the Liberty of the Tower. See note "The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161.

¹ This refers to the river-front of the Constable's or King's House, from which the Warder's room at the foot of the Byward Tower is visible.

an enemy but Death, who took her from us March y^e 25th 1729. 1729
Peace be with her amiable Soul.¹ Dec.

1729/30 March y^e 1.

This being the Queens birth day and happening to be Sunday, we only fired our Guns, but the next day the bone fire was made on the hill, the barril of beer given to the Populace, and the Warders and Gunners had each a pint of wine given 'em as usual.

4. Tho' Harwood our Master Gunner dyed of Apopletick fits, he behaved himself with honesty and dilligence and more Soberly than I expected; he was buried in the Chappel behind the door by day-light according to order.²

1729.

I perceiv'd that Somebody had fixd in the ground on little Tower Hill a long range of great posts, from the Passage that goes to rosemary lane, to that which Leads to the Victualling Office, taking in part of the hill, under pretence that so much of the ground belongs to a piece of ground calld. Shrubbs acre which I fine has been long saught after and contested. I orderd severl. Soldiers to go in the night with Spades and pickaxes and to take up the posts and throw 'em into the Tower ditch and fill up the holes smothe as before. It was don accordingly at my expence and the next day Moses Hart a Jew who had Lately bought an estate thereabouts and by whose order the posts were put up came to me to complain that his posts had been taken up &c. I told him who ever had don it had don well for that no posts or posession ought to have been Layd there without first acquainting me of it, that I Judgd it the Kings Ground, but that if he woud wait on the Constable, and make it appear by his writings that he had a right to that ground, I shoud not obstruct him, otherwais he shoud by no means take any sort of possession of

¹ A ground-plan of the Chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula prepared in 1876, and now in the possession of the Commissioners of Works, indicates the position of the stone as described by Williamson. Upon the repair of the Chancel in 1877 the stone was removed to its present position close to the Altar rails on the south side of the Chancel. It contains the following inscription: "Here lies Catherine, the beloved wife of the Hon. Colonel Williamson, Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower, who lived esteemed and died lamented by all who knew her, March the 25th, 1729." As to the illustrious dead buried in the Chancel, see *A Tragedy in Stone*, by Lord Redesdale. General Williamson was buried in the family grave of his second wife in Binfield Church, Berkshire (see Introduction, p. 9).

² See entries, October 11, 1727; November 8, 1729.

1729 it. He never applyd to the Constable nor did I ever hear more of his pretended right.¹

1729.

Our quarter sessions for the Liberty of the Tower² being often held at the Porters Sutling house³ which brought great numbers of People in to the Tower, and gave a pretence to all sorts of disaffected Persons to crowd in upon us, I prevaild with the Constable to order the Sessions to be held out of the Tower, and on his application a house was hired on Great Tower hill at 50£ £ an. and payd for by the Treasury.⁴

1730 March 26th.

Martiall an Old Soldier who had serv'd 36 years in the Regimt. of Horse Commanded now by his Grace the Duke of Argyle, was made Master Gunner and by the Constables warrant had the Late Gunners house given to him.

April ye 7. The people without proposed to take the 70£ £ an. for

¹ "Shrubb's Acre" has not been identified further than that it appears to have formed part of Little Tower Hill. The Victualling Office was on the hill to the north-east of the Tower (see the account of the execution of Charles Radclyffe, *Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 439). Stow says that there was a space within the Liberties of the Tower called the Jewry because it was inhabited by Jews. In 22 Henry III a murder was committed there and no attachment was made by the Sheriffs because it belonged to the Constable of the Tower. (*Stow's Survey*, i, 374). In 1236 Hugh Giffard was appointed to the custody of the Tower with all the rights belonging to it, of the Jewry, and of the water of Thames (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1236, p. 140). The Jewry of the Tower Liberties is perpetuated in the name of Jewry Street which runs from Aldgate High Street to Cruched Friars.

² See note "The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

³ There was a Sutlers' House at the south-east corner of the fortification, opposite the Salt Tower (see plan of the Mint 1700-1 in the 21st *Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint*, p. 28), as well as the Warders' Sutling House referred to in the entry of April 17, 1736.

⁴ In June 1730 the Lords of the Treasury submitted for report to the Constable Lord Lonsdale, a petition from Thomas Robinson, Chief Steward, and Abraham Fowler, Chief Bailiff, of "The Court of Record within the Liberty of the Tower of London, praying the erection of a Court-house and Prison for the Liberty and Precincts of the Tower at the expense of the Crown." In the following October the grant of £50 a year referred to in the Diary was made, and £30 was allowed for the expense of ironwork, presumably for making the prison secure. (*Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1729, 1730, pp. 391, 461.). And see entry, 'December ye last,' p. 68, *infra*.

the Mentinance of our poor, provided an arier¹ which they Say'd was due to 'em, was left to Arbitracōn and that to Make the bargin more lasting, it shou'd be Signed by 'em all without, in a vestry held for y^t purpose, but by a vestry call'd by us it was rejected and resolved that the Law Suit shou'd go on.

1730
Ap. 7

1730 April ye 11.

The Secretary at Wars order to suffer the Battallion of Guards doing duty in the Tower to March out from time to time upon Tower Hill at the discretion of the Commanding Officer, to exercise the Men and Make 'em perfect in their Discipline.

8^{br.} ye 24.

The Secretary at Wars order to permit the Batalion of the 2^d. Regimt. of Guards to march out and to be relieved by a Battalion of the first, which they did, this day, and I gave them the following orders—

1. No Soldier whilst he is on duty is to go out of the Tower, if any are seen abroad Santering in the streets with their accoutrements on, they are to be confined and punished.

2. All fires and candles in the Barracks are to be put out as soon as to Tattō has done beating.

3. No Soldier who is on guard is to be admitted into the Barracks after the Gates are Shutt.

4. The Serg^{ts}. to take care that the Barracks and bedding be kept clean and that no Soldier Ly's on the beds with his Shoos on.

5. The Corporal who relieves the Sentinells at night to take care that they do it with as Little nois as may be and all noisy drunken people or Soldiers that he or the rounds meet with are to be taken Prisoners to ye main guard.

6. No Soldier is to Sing or to make a noise on his Post, nor is he to sit dounie, but to be Vigilent, and keep his firelock in his hands.

7. That each Sentinell be provided with Powder and ball as the Corporal who Posts him shall be answerable.

8. To Suffer no beggers to enter the Tower or to ply on the wharf.

9. On the first appearance of any arm'd men or Mobb, the Serg^{ts}. of the Spur² and Wharf Guard to shut their Gates and to rapport 'em to the Governour immediatly.

¹ "Arrear." See entry March 18, 1728-9.

² See p. 33, note (3) *supra*.

1730
Oct. 24

10. If any false weights or Measures be found among the Sutlers the Soldier who discovers 'em shall be rewarded by the Governour and the Sutler turnd out of the Tower.

12. No Women or Suttling to be allowd in the Barracks. All Soldiers or their Wives who are Seen going out of the Tower with bundles, they are to be searchd and if anything belonging to the King or inhabitants be found on 'em to carry 'em to the Main Guard and report 'em to the Govern^r.

8ber y^e 29th.

Receivd as usual the Kings warrant for two fat Does, without paying fees for 'em.

The method for the future, of the 3 several Regimts. of Guards relieving in the Tower.

A Battallion of the first for one year, Second for the next, Third for the third year. Then in regard the first Regimt. had three Battallions the others but two, it went thus, first, second, first third, first 2^d. 3^d. and so on.

December y^e last.

The Law Suit¹ between the Tower within and the inhabitants without, was Learnedly debated at the Kings Bench Westminster befor the Lord chief Justice Raymond, the Tower within being Plantive for the distresses they without had made on us, and after weak reply made by the Council for the inhabit^s. on the hill it was given for us with costs and damages, and adjudged that we are not a Parish, but a Chappel extra Parochiall, and that without and within each mentain their owne poor Seperately.

Our Gaol being an old wooden building on the hill and the rent of it payd by the Gaoler, and besides, on a Survey, it was found so weak, as to be thought dangerous for the Quarter Sessions to be held there as usual, application was made to the Lords of the Treasury, and a State of the case Lay'd before 'em; they ordered fifty pound £ an. to be payd quarterly for the rent of a good and suffitient house or Gaol and one was taken accordingly, on the east side of great Tower hill fronting the City with 6 Sash windows in front, and fitted up with a good Court house, and conveniences for safe keeping Prisoners.²

¹ See entry October 19, 1729.

² See p. 66, note (4) *supra*.

173¹ [173⁰] Janry. ye 2.

1730-1
Jan. 2

A child was taken up at traiters gate drove in by the tide. The Coroner and Jury brought it in Murderd by a person unknown, for which the Tower within payd the Coroner¹ 13^s. 4^d. as his fee, and half a crown for summoning the Jury.

7th. A man was taken out of the Tower ditch allmost sufficated, he dyed an hour after; the Coroner bringing it in accidental death he had no fee by Law due to him; he grumbled, but he went without it.²

Janry. ye 18. Duke of Newcastle's order for admitting S^r Hans Sloan to visit Mr Kelley³ in his sickness.

He did, and Judg'd his case to be a convulsive Asthma and that it might proove fatal to his Life he being of a weak constitution.

19. The people without,⁴ the better to make their caus appear, had got us contrary to Custom, put in the bills of Mortallity as one of the Parishes, but I got it put out.

26. The sd. Dukes order to admit Parson Creek to visit and administer the Sacraments to Mr. Kelly.

He did, and gave him the Sacraments. N.B. he was a professed non Juror.⁵

Febry 4.

The Dukes ord^r. to permit Mr. Kelly to go out, to take the air for two hours a day, accompanyd with the Goaler and a Warder, at such hours as the commanding officer shoud think convenient.

12. Henry Hawkins was Sworn in a Warder by me and gave my Serv^{ts}. a guinea as usual.

March 6.

Order to permit George Kelly to go out of the Tower for four hours a day attended by the Goaler and his warder.

March ye 28.

John Smith the yeoman warder dyed of hard drinking; he was a

¹ See p. 26, note (2) *supra*, and note "The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

² See the Coroners' Act, 1752 (25 George II., c. 29), cf. p. 86, note (2) *infra*.

³ George Kelly; see note "George Kelly," Appendix, p. 166, *infra*.

⁴ See above, p. 62, note (1).

⁵ The Revd Mr Creake was Chaplain to the late Duchess of Ormond (see note "George Kelly," Appendix, p. 168, *infra*).

1731
Mar. 28

Strong man and Might have Lived to a hundred had he not besotted him self. It was a pitty, for he was a very faithfull honest brave fellow, and had a warm hart for our present happy establishment.

April y^e 18. At My humble request to My good Lord Lonsdale he was pleas'd to give me Leave to Nominate a Warder to Succeed him, which I sold to Robert Christian for 210[£] he paying all fees and gave my serv^{ts}. a guinea when I swore him in as usual.

April y^e 29.

Gunton the warder dyed, and was succeeded by Holms who gave my serv^{ts}. a guinea as usual.

May y^e 4.

The Duke of Newcastles order to suffer Mr Kelly to ride abroad in the Presance of an officer at convent^t. hours.

May y^e 4: Our Constable My Lord Lonsdale went to his Majesty and Layd downe his Commission, he was a most worthy Man and never sold a warders place or house but gave all away, contrary to the Practice of Lord Carlisle who sold all.

May y^e 27: We went our Procession¹ with great tranquillity and at our return the company that attended were entertained with 2 hams, Radishes, and bred and butter, and for the Upper end of the table were 3 chickins and a Quarter of Lamb; wine was allowd to all the Company.

N.B. The Bell is not to ring for prayers till 11 a clock and the best inhabitants without are to be invited, and the High Constable is to Summon all the Petty Constables to attend the procession.

¹ To beat the bounds of the Tower Liberty. This custom is mentioned in a charter of 4 Richard II (Lansdowne MS. No. 155, fol. 54): "Item the said Constable if he be present shall upon every Ascension daie goe on procession worshipfully about the Tower and St. Katherine's, having with him his Lieutenant and all the freemen and inhabitants within the franchise of the Tower in their best araye." Bayley, *History of the Tower*, Part II. Appendix xcvi.). The Diary shows that the custom was observed in Williamson's time (*see* entries May 18, 1732; May 3, 1733), and it is still kept up, though the procession now takes place once in three years only. By letters patent of June 10, 3 James II (*Patent Roll*, 3 James II, 6th part), the places specified in the schedule to the grant are to be taken to be the Liberty of the Tower and to be free from the Government of the Mayor, Aldermen and Justices of the Peace and Coroner of the City of London, and from the government of the Justices of the Peace and Coroners of the County of Middlesex. (*Ibid.* cxii). As to the Sessions of the Peace for the Tower Liberty, *see note* "The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

GENERAL WILLIAMSON'S DIARY

71

1731
May 27

- The Healths are
- 1 The King
 - 2 The Queen
 - 3 The Prince the Duke and Royall Family
 - 4 The Constable by name
 - 5 The Lt. by name

Then the Company drink my health as Deputy Lieut. by name, after which I drink all theirs. Then we drink the Majors by Name and the rest of the officers of the Tower soon after which I retire.

The March.

First goes 2 warders with their Partisans shoulđred.
 Then, the Secretary and Gentleman Porter
 then the rest of the warders 2 and 2 shouđered
 then the Master Gunner Single
 the Gunners in one rank
 the Gentleman Goaler carrying ye ax.
 then the Comanding officer single
 then the Major, single
 the Chaplin single
 the rest of the company 2 and 2 close the Procession.

1731 August 1.

Play'd off a fine fire work at my house in Oakingham Berks, in Joyfull remembrance of the happy accession of the good protestant house of Hanover to the throne of Great Britn. I fired a hundred Large Rockets, beside Swarm boxes, wheels, runners on the line. Had the King and Queen Cipher with the Crowne over it held by 2 guardin angels, and over all HANOVER FOR EVER, ye top of ye house Illuminated with flambaus.

14th. Lord Leicester¹ appointed Constable of the Tower.

17th. His Lordship came incognito to the Tower.

8ber ye 10. Returned from my house in Oakingham Berks where I stay'd 4 Months with Leave of the Constable.

13. The Duke of Lorain² Landed at ye Tower stairs but we had

¹ John Sidney, 6th Earl of Leicester.

² Francis, Duke of Lorraine, married in 1736 Maria Theresa, Archduchess of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI. Francis was elected Emperor in 1745.

1731 Oct. 13 no directions to pay him any honours. He was wrapt in a riding coat, and stept immediatly into the Emperors Embassadors Coach which waited for him.

8br. ye 23rd. Secretary at Wars Let^r directing the 10 Companies of guards to be releived by a Batallion of the 3^d Regimt. N.B. they marchd in the 25th.

9br. 5th. The Constable on Mr. Kellys¹ Let^r to him requesting that he might go out of the Tower attended only by one Warder, consented for the ease of the Officers, that he might go out attended by two Warders, which after more Mature thoughts, he revoked, and wou'd not take on him self to make any alterations in the manner of his being attended, but dersired he wou'd send any request of that sort or for any other indulgence to a Secretary of State, and he wou'd, as far as reasonable, do him all the good offices he cou'd in it.

9br. 6th. The Constables house in which I live was new tyl'd or ript,² all over, and new Sash Windows made to ye east front.

[1731 Aug^t. ye 7th.³

On a refusal of the Officers of the Guards doing duty in the Tower to obey the Majors commands, in my absence, his Majesty was pleasd again to signifie his pleasure to 'em that they shoud continue to obey him as usual.

White Hall 19th. August 1731

Sr

I have Represented to the King the Disputes that have happened in the Tower between the Major of that garison and the officers of the Foot Guards doing Duty there, with respect to Right of Command, and have received his Majestys Commands to acquaint you, it is his EXPRESS WILL AND PLEASURE that the regulation he was pleased to make on the 26th of June 1728⁴ shall stand good and be in force notwithstanding the Regulations which were made and signed by him on the 30th of April 1729, in regard the latter were never intended to take away those which were made for the Tower

¹ George Kelly. See note as to him, Appendix, p. 166, *infra*.

² To rip; "to take the tiles off a building or roof and put on fresh laths; to repair or re-lay a roof in this manner" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

³ This date appears to be correct, although out of regular order.

⁴ See entry of this date, *supra*.

of London, but only for the Duty of other Garisons. His Majestys further Will and Pleasure is, that the same Honours in Every Respect shall be payd by the Officers and Soldiers of his foot Guards, doing Duty from time to time in the Tower of London, to the Earle of Leicester the Presant Constable of the Tower as have been allwais payd to his Predecessors.

1731
Nov.

I am with just regard
S^r your most obedient and most
humble servt.

W^m. Strickland

To the R^t Hon^{ble} S^r Charles Wills. Col^l.
of his Majestys first Regim^t of Foot Guards.]

9br. ye 30. The Duke of Lorain¹ under the title of Marquis of Blamont, came to see the Tower; he was receivd at the entrance of the Tower by the Warders Lodg opposit to the Mint² where his Coach stopt, by My Lord Leicester,³ and the Duke of Argyll,⁴ who attended him into the Mynt to see the Coynage; the reason why they went first to the Mynt was that their melting pots and fires were all orderd to be ready by 12 a clock and he came but half an hour sooner, so that things being ready there, there was a necessity for his seeing the process of money making first, and he afterwards saw the great Gun armory, and entered by the great gate, and then ascended by the great Staircase to the Small Armory, thence to the Horse Armory⁵ and ended with the Lyons.⁶ There was then a young he Lyon which had been whelpd four months, which he Saw with pleasure and took him up in his arms, strok'd, kiss'd, and pulld him by the whiskers, and sayd he was a great cureosity to him. He was not carried to see the Crowns and regalia for that the Imperial Crown, which he was probably to wair by his

¹ See above, entry October 13, 1731.

² At the Byward Tower. The Mint extended northwards from this point.

³ The Constable.

⁴ John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll (1678-1743), Master General of the Ordnance from 1725 to 1740. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Haydn's *Book of Dignities*).

⁵ The Great Gun Armoury and the Small Armoury, in the building to the north of the White Tower, were completed in the reign of William and Mary and destroyed by fire in 1841. The site is now occupied by the Waterloo Barracks. (Britton and Brayley, *Memoirs of the Tower of London*, 266; Lord Ronald Gower, *The Tower of London*, ii, 142). The Horse Armoury stood nearly opposite the south-eastern angle of the White Tower. (Bayley, *History of the Tower*, 265).

⁶ See note "The Tower Menagerie," Appendix, p. 181, *intra*.

1731
Nov. 30

intended Mariage with the Emperors Daugtr¹ and the force of the Guarantyd Pragmattick Sanction, was much finer. He was near 3 hours seeing everything. The Constable ordered the Prisoners allwais to be locked up on these occasions, the croud was great, notwithstanding that our gates were orderd to be kept shut.

The Warder to whome the Duke of Lorains gentleman had given 3 guineas was Suspended, and orderd to be a Prisoner at his Lodgings, for not Letting his Brother Warders know it, and endeavouring to keep it a Secret that it might be devided among the days wait,² and the others who were orderd to attend on the occasion and did equall duty, to be defrauded of their Shair. I ordered it to be equally devided among 'em all, but it appearing that he had told the Yeoman Porter of it, I set him at liberty ordering them all for the future to declare immediatly in the Hall what money they at any time got from persons who came to see the Tower.

Xbr. 3^d. My Lord Leicester was presented to us by the Duke of Grafton then Lord Chamberlin, as Constable of his Majestys Tower of London; he shoud us the Kings order for his So doing; after that I presented the Keys to him and part of his Patant was read, which appointed him Constable. The Seal of the Tower which is the Tower, was likewise deliverd to him by the Secretary, which he redeliverd to him, and the Keys to me.

N.B. The Lieut.³ was so ill he coud not attend, and there was no treat Made for the officers as had been don by Lord Lincoln and Lord Lonsdale.

Xbr. 9th. The Duke of Lorain Left England, embarked at Greenwich in the Fubs Yatch.⁴

¹ See p. 71, note (2) *supra*.

² The Warders on duty for the day; O. F. *waite*, a guard, sentinel, &c. (Skeat, *Etymological Dict.*, sub 'wait'). Compare entry March 23, 1740-1, near the end.

³ Lieut.-General Compton; see the entry January 12, 1740-1.

⁴ The Fubb's yacht. "The King [Charles II] had given orders for the building of a yacht which as soon as it was finished he named "The Fubbs" in honour the Duchess of Portsmouth, who, we may suppose, was in her person rather full and plump. The sculptors and painters apply this epithet to children, and say, for instance, of the boys of Fiammengo that they are fubby." (Hawkins, *History of Music*, ed. 1776, iv, 359). "Fubbs"; a small chubby person; chiefly used as a term of endearment (*New Eng. Dict.*). There was a Fubbs yacht in commission almost continuously from 1686 to 1774 (*Commissions at P. R. O.*). The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1733 announces (p. 605) the arrival, on November 7, of the Prince of Orange "on board the Fubbs

1731
Dec. 9

ditto. The Secretary gave us our warrants as usuall from his Majesty and signed by his owne hand, for two Does for his officers of the Tower, they were both on Windsor great Park, in Summer we had 'em for two Bucks as usual.

One I devided among the Officers, the other I gave among My friends, reserving only a haunch to my self; the Lieut^t allwais refused takeing any.

Xbr. 9th. One of The Tower Labourers was drownded in the Thamis from the Wharf by accident in the Dark. The next day the Coroner sat on him, the Charges of which, and of his burial, was defrayd by the Ordnance. The Coroners Jury was composed by the people of the Ordnance and if any were wanting I orderd our Warders to Make up the Jury, and in all cases of this sort that fell within my Province I orderd (to save charges) that the Warders shoud allways compose the Jury.

1731-2. Jañry 1.

One Richard Haris who was son to a Felt Munger¹ in Southwark and had ben a Bailif came into the Tower and impudently Proclaim'd the Popish Pretender, as King of England &c. He was brought before me, and it appearing by Many evidences he had don so, I committed him to Newgate. He confes'd he had don so, and Writ the very words he had Proclaim'd him in, and signed it with his owne hand, and as he was stepping into the Hackney Coach which I orderd for him, he again Proclaimd him in my Sight and hearing; he smelld of Strong Liquors and I Judg'd him rather drunk than mad. I immediatly informed the Lord Harington the then Secretary of State, and sent him a Copy of the depositions and his confession; he orderd him to be Prosecuted at the King's suit by Sr Phillip York the Attorney Generl, but it appearing afterwards that he had frequent signes of madnes, they weaved² the Prosecution and sent him to Bedlam.

Jañry 13th.

The Bench of Justices for the Liberty of the Tower³ Layd a Yacht " and that he has given Sir Charles Hardy " Captain of the Fubbs," a diamond ring. A riverside inn just above " The Ship " at Greenwich preserves the name of " The Fubbs Yacht " to the present day.

¹ Query, fellmonger.² Waived.³ See note " The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161, *in/r/a*.

1731-2 fine of five pd. on Fowler the Gentleman Goaler, who had been appointed the Deputy Sheriff of the Liberty, for not attending at the Quarter Sessions and not removeing a Washing Copper which he had given Leave to be put up in the back house of the New Gaol,¹ contrary to their order in Sessions, which back house was intended for a place of hard Labour to beat hemp in &c.

14. I had the 3 eastermost Pear trees which had been planted against the South side of my house,² taken up they being of a poor raskally sort contrary to the Promis the Fellow who sold and planted them made me, viz^t. that they shoud be good bon Critien Pear trees—and had 3 others Planted in their room, from the great Nursery Garden at Lambeth.³ And was assured by him they were all Spanish Bon Critiens; the tree next the Coffe house⁴ I had ingrafted and it took well, two years ago.

17. One of the labourers who lived on the Wharf having a child dangerously ill, at his request I ordered the Keys of the Wharf Gates to be left with the Serg^t. of the Wharf Guard in order for the Phisician and Apothecary to attend it if necessary.

173½ Febr y^e 8.

My Lord Leicester⁵ did me the Honour to dyne with me, in the Tower; before Dinner he visited the Prisoners Kelly and Plunket.⁶

15. I had the honour to dyne with his Lordship at his house in Leicester fields.⁷

¹ See entry "December the last," 1730.

² See p. 27, *supra*.

³ Lambeth Marsh, extending from Westminster Bridge to Blackfriars, remained until the early part of the nineteenth century open fields, divided by broad ditches bordered by willows and crossed by planks or narrow bridges. The drier parts were cultivated as vegetable or flower gardens (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, ii. 359). In Lyson's *Environs of London* (1792), i, 258, it is said that about 250 acres in the parish of Lambeth are occupied by market gardeners and that Malcolm's nursery grounds occupy nearly 40 acres. In Allen's *History of Lambeth* (1827), 380, are mentioned Mr. Phillips' orchard for the rearing of fruit trees and the nursery grounds of Messrs Chandler and Buckingham, both on the road leading to Wandsworth.

⁴ The coffee house is mentioned in the account of George Kelly; see Appendix, p. 168, *infra*.

⁵ The Constable.

⁶ George Kelly and John Plunket; see notes in Appendix, pp. 166 and 174, *infra*.

⁷ Now Leicester Square.

March 1.

1731-2
Mar. 1

The Queens birth day was kept as usual, and My Lord Leicester orderd the Wine and Bonefire as likewise the baril of beer on the Hill, to be given as formerly.

2nd. On a Complaint made to me by the Commandant that the furniture in the Officers Guard room was so dirty, the chairs and table broke &c., I made application to Sr W^m Strickland the then Secretary at War, and Layd before him the Letter the Command^t had writ on that Occasion; he orderd that I shoud buye New furniture and bring in a bill for it which I did, and 'twas as follows—
(Blank in MS.)

1732 March ye 29th.

Ed^d. Humphrys our Skavinger Dyed and My Lord Leicester was pleas'd at My Recommendation to give the place to James Eaton our Labourer.

N.B. the Sallery of it is 6' p^d. a year, and his business is to Sweep clean, and Carry away the Dirt from the Constable's house &c.

May ye 18th¹ We went in procession round the Tower Precincts peaceably; I not being well the Major Lead 'em.

7br. ye 15th. returned from My house in Oakingham Berks.

19th. Had the honour to go with Lord Leicester in his Coach from his house to Tower hill at 1 a clock to the review of the two Regimts. of the militia of the Tower Hamlets; his Lordship went through all the ranks of Both Regimts. and afterward took his stand at the Steps of the great house on the east side of Tower hill near the bar, and saw 'em March by Company after Company, but their intervals between each Company in their March was so great that the Mobb often broke in between 'em, So as that they lost sight of one an other; they were frequently orderd to march Closer but they would not alter their way. From the review my Lord went to a tavern where the officers had provided a very hand-som Dinner, at which table none dyned but my Lord, My Self and Major with the field officers and Capt^{ns}. The Subalterns dyned in an other Room on the same floor. Col^l. Ogborn sat on my Lords right hand, which place he offered Me but I refused it, and had the honour of sitting next my Lord on his left. My Lord toasted the healths and Col^l. Exelbe proclaimed 'em to the Company as follows

¹ Ascension Day; see p. 70, note (1) *supra*.

1732

Sept. 19

- 1 The King
- 2 The Queen
- 3 The Prince and the rest of the Royal Family
- 4 then we Drank my Lords Health
- 5 The Lieutent^t. of the Tower of London
- 6 { Prosperity to the Tower of Londn the Liberties and Hamlets
thereunto belonging
- 7 The Deputy Lieutenant
- 8 Prosperity to both the Regim^{ts}.
- 9 Then my Lord drank a health to all the Company
- 10 { and we ended with the Gloreous and immortal memory of
our great Deliverer, King William

I set the healths downe because I found my Lord was very desirous to know what healths had been usually drank upon these occasions, which by enquiry I found to be as above, and writ 'em downe for him. He sent 5 guineas to the Prisoners at White Chappel.¹

7 br. 22nd. Expecting Daily the Kings returne from Holland I orderd our Master Gunner to Load his guns to be ready to fire on the first certainty of the Kings Landing.

26. His Majesty Landed at Gravesend and proceeded with that expedition, that he had got into Lumbard Street before we had Notice of it, and probably into the Strand before we fired.

October 6. Let^r from the war office for the relief of the 9 companies of the 3^d. Regim^t. of Guards to be relieved by ten of the first Regim^t.

8. Mr. Forster a surveyor of the river having had certain information that fifteen horse Load of Tea were Lodgd in a Barn at Illford in Essex in order to be run into Towne at night, and he desiring som men to assist him in taking of it, I let him have a Sergt and 8 men, and sent my coachman on My horse with a case of Pistols, in order to his having a shair in the Seisure. Mr. Foster had three of his owne People with him well arm'd with Blunderbusses; he took 'em all to the Place in three Coaches, and surprised and ceised the tea without resistance, and brought it in the Coaches to the Custom House immediatly; it was in fifteen oyld skin bags each weighing 100 lib.

9th. A woman troubled in mind drownded her Self in the Tower

¹ Whitechapel prison for debtors, being the prison of the Court Baron for the Liberties of the Manors of Stepney and Hackney. (Neild, *Account of Prisons* (1808), p. 518).

1732
Oct. 9

ditch. The Coroners inquest which were compos'd of as Many Warders as I had in the Tower, the rest were appointed by the Ordnance, brought her in Lunatick; she was buried at the expence of us in the Tower, out of the contribution Stock.¹

10. Application was made for some men to go and ceis a Smugler who had Lately with others Mentiond in the Warrant killed one of the King's Officers near Margate in Kent; I gave him a Sergt. and two Soldiers and my man armd, which were all he desired. They went to Nuington, a little beyond the bar in Southwark, but they had a look out at the house and before the street door was opened to the Constable and Men, tis probable he had made his escape out of the back Window, for they found only his Pistolls and Spurs; had they taken him they woud have had a reward of £60 devided among 'em.

On the above application for soldiers to assist the Custom house officers, having no orders for it, I applyd to the Secretary at War for the Kings order to detatch upon all such occasions; it was minuted downe in the Secretarys Paper to be layd before his Majesty, but afterwards he thought it more proper for the Commissioners of Customs, to write to him for such an order, of which I informed the Commissioners at their board and they sayd they woud write to the Secretary at War, and they did so, which Letter was lay'd before the Attorney General for his oppinion on it.²

1732 Sber 11.

On the frequent troublesom applications which were made for our keeping the Gates unlocked till eleven a clock to Let in those whose affairs or pleasure kept out, it was orderd by my Lord Leicester that the Gates which were usually shut at half an hour after ten, shoud not be lockd till eleven.

25th. The Garison was relieved by a Battallion of the first Regimt.; gave out the usual order as mentioned p. 49th.³

9br. 16th. One of our Warders who rented the Corner house on the right hand going into Lumbard Street at £70 p. an. and kept a pastry cooks shop there, was appointed to be Church Warden of the Parish where he Lived, which he refused to accept of, and

¹ Cf. entry Nov. 24. 1732.

² See entry April 4, 1733.

³ This refers to the page of the manuscript. See entry October 24, 1730.

1732

Nov. 16

was thereupon cited to appear at the Ecclesiastical Court to show Cause why he did not; he pleaded the Cunstables Warrant, and his Majestys order in Council, but it appearing that the order in Council desires only that his Servants in ordinary shoud be exempted and that the Warders Certificate mentions 'em as yeomen of his Majestys Guard in extraordinary,¹ the cause was given against him at Doctors Commons and he was orderd to take on him the Oath of Office, or be ipso facto Excommunicated. I attended there to do the poore fellow all the service I coud, and went to the Attorney Generll,² to get him (if possible) to Stop the Prosecution, but he told me he coud not do it in the Spiritual Court, if it had been in any of the other Courts he woud, as his Majestys Order in Council directed him. After this the Attorney Generl. was again apply'd to, to know, whether a writ of Privilege could not be obtaind for him, but he gave it as his oppinion that men in the Office of Warders or Yeomen of the Guard, were not intitled to it, nor any, but those who are in his Majesty's Service in the Revenue. So the poor fellow after an industrious and expensive Struggle, was forced to be a Church warden. It is hoped his Majestys next order in Council will expressly Mention, the warders of his most antient Pallace the Tower of London.

1732 9br. 23^d.

The Lieut^t sent me one of the Kings Warrants for a Doe on Epping Forest.

24. We made a collection for Relief of the poor and Casualtys; our shair came to 1.18.0.

27th. My Lord Leicester our Constable sent me half a Doe exceeding fat and good.

Xbr. ye 4th. One Whitaker an officer of the Mint Dy'd of the bite of a Mad Dog in the Tower; he went the same day on which he was bit to the Salt water at Gravesend, but whether the Water was not Salt enough there, or that he was not suffitiently dipt or plunged, I dont know, but he dyed with all the Symptoms of Madness

¹ 'Yeomen of the Guard Extraordinary' was the title conferred on the Warders in the reign of Edward VI (Bayley, *History of the Tower*, 668). The popular title of 'Beefeater' (not derived from a supposed French word 'buffetier', but designating an eater of beef, (*New Eng. Dict.*)), does not occur in the Diary.

² Sir Philip Yorke, afterwards Lord Hardwicke.

usual in that distemper.¹ On his Death all Dogs were orderd either to be sent out of the Tower or to be Killd except those of Gentle-
men or Ladys, which were orderd to be tyed up. 1732
Dec. 4

The same day Biggleston the Warder dyed of a Dropsy and was succeeded by Cliff, who I swore in and he gave the serv^{ts} a guinea as usual.

Febr^y 21. Tho. Freeman sworne in Apothecary to the Tower, in the room of Mr. Teal who dyed; he lives in Kent. Our Warders after having Petitioned my Lord Leicester for his kind endeavours that their small sallerys might be encreas'd, his Lordship try'd his interest in vain for 'em with S^r Robert Wallpole.

23^d. My Second Daughter Mary dyed; and was Layd on my Late wifes Coffin, in the Chappel of the Tower.²

My Lord Leicester was pleas'd to say, that it was below the Officer in My Post, to attend Mr. Kelly abroad for the air.

1732 March 7th.

A mad Dog bit a poor Sailor in the Leg, in the Tower, I orderd him to be immediatly shot which was don accordingly.³

12. A poor Soldier on his Post on the North Lyne between Legs and brass Mount,⁴ the box and house of easment fell doun into the Ditch with the poor fellow in it, which so bruised hin that he never Spoke, and dyed in two hours after.

19. Meret the Warder dyed; his post was given to Gabriel Whitaker, Tallow Chandler.

This poor fellow was the man who drank hard with Smith our Late Yeoman Porter and Warder⁵ and dispatched him to his Grave, but he him Self never had good health after it tho he did his duty

¹ See note "Cure of hydrophobia," Appendix, p. 182, *infra*.

² Williamson's first wife, Catharine, died March 25, 1729 (see entry, December 1729). By his second wife, Elizabeth, he had two daughters, Elizabeth Caroline, baptized in the Chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula in the Tower May 7, 1731, and Mary, baptized at the same place November 1, 1732, and buried there, according to the Register, November 25, 1732. It looks as if for some reason the remains were not finally interred above the first Mrs Williamson's coffin until Feb. 23, 1732-3.

³ Compare entry, December 4, 1732.

⁴ As to Legge's Mount, see p. 61, note (1) *supra*. Brass Mount is the bastion at the north-eastern angle of the outer wall. The sentry's beat was on the outer wall between these points.

⁵ See entry March 28, 1731. The Yeoman Porter and the Warders held their places by warrant of the Constable. (Bayley, *History of the Tower*, 668).

1732-3 in a Lingring Manner till he dyed of a dropsy, near two years
 Mar. 19 after him. They were a Couple of Brave honest fellows, and it was
 great pity they took this wrong turne. The L^t named his successor
 and Sold it.

April 4th. 1733.

The Kings order to the Cunstable of the Tower of Londⁿ for
 the garison there to be assisting to the Officers of the Customs.¹

April 24. Lord Leicester came to the Tower and did me the
 honour to dyne with me. N.B. he is allwais to have 2 Sentinells
 at the door when he comes.

26. Sent one Dwyer to Newgate for inlisting men into the French
 Service; he was fined 50£, 2 years in Prison and good behaviar
 for 5.

May y^e 3.² Went our Procession in good ord^r and quietude, had
 3 cold chickens and a qr of Lamb, Rennish, french white and Port.

May 30. Went to My house in Oakingham with My Family
 having first had the Constables and Lieut^s. Leave.

8ber 16. returned with My Family.

25. The Garison was relieved by a Batallion of the 2^d Regim^t
 of Guards, and I gave em the usual orders.³

9br. y^e 7.

The Prince of Orange⁴ Landed at the Wharf Stairs in one of
 the King's Barges. I orderd the Wharf and draw bridge Gates to
 be Lockd and none to be let in but by my orders. The croud of
 boats was so great about the Stairs that it was scarce possible
 for the Barge to come near So that we were forced to pelt 'em
 off with Stones as we had orders from my Lord Leicester not to
 recive the Prince with guards turned out or our warders ranged
 on each side the Stairs as usuall so we only posted a Grend^r. at

¹ There is a letter from Charles Carkesse, Secretary to the Commissioners of Customs, to Williamson, dated April 5, 1733, referring him to the 32nd section of the Act, 14 Charles II, c. 11, directing all His Majesty's subjects to assist the officers of the Customs in the execution of their duty (*Tower Records*, V. 109).

² Ascension Day; see p. 70, note (1), *supra*.

³ See entry, October 24, 1730.

⁴ William, Prince of Orange, married Anne, Princess Royal of England, March 14, 1733-4.

each side of the Stairs to keep off the People. The Kings Coach 1733 with Several of the Nobillitys waited for him on the wharf, and Nov. 7 he proceeded in the Kings to his Lodgings prepared for him in Summersset House.

9br. 13. The Mariage of the Prince with the Princes Royall which was to have been solemnised to Morrow was defferd on account of his Indisposition, and we were orderd not to Cloath our Warders or fire our guns till further notice.

16. Lord Leicester was so good as to send me a Doe from his park at Penshurst in Kent where the venison is exceeding good and Fat.

17. We had our Warrants given us gratis as usual for two Does; myne was on Richmond new Park. Being the Prince of Waleses birth day we were orderd to Let the Warders wear their Cloaths.

(1733-4) March 1,

being the Queens birth day our guns fired as usuall, a bone fire on the hill, beer given to it and wine to the Warders and Gunners as usual.

11. The Prince of Orange came to see the Tower. I orderd all Coaches to be kept out, by which means the Mobb did not crowd us, as when the Duke of Lorain came here;¹ the Warders made way for him and I posted Several of 'em at different doors of the armory and other places to prevent the Peoples crowding of him; he orderd the Warders 5 Guineas. The wharf Gates and draw bridg² were not opend all day till the Prince was gon, and the Tower gates³ were kept shut so that People enterd only by the wicket. We were orderd to Show him no honours but all the civillity possible.

14. The Princes Royall was maried to the Prince of Orange; we orderd the Soldiers should have no port liberty,⁴ but be in readiness, in case of tumults. The Constable was pleasead to send me two tickets which I made presents of to My friends.

(1734) April ye 6. My Lord Leicester came to the Tower but did not stay to dyne.

¹ See entry, November 30, 1731.

² The Wharf gates at the east and west ends of the Wharf; the draw-bridge connecting the Wharf with the Byward Tower.

³ Probably the Bulwark Gate at the south-west corner of the Tower and the gates at Martin's and Byward Towers.

⁴ Gate-liberty.

1734
Ap. 7

7th. Mr Penington son to Sir Joseph Pennington Baron^t dyed of the Small Pox; he was our Gentleman Porter, but never attended his duty.

He was succeeded by Joslin Sidney only brother to L^d Leicester.¹

13th. Receiv'd an order from the Lords of the Council directed to Lord Leicester our Constable requiring him to give directions to the proper officers under his command to be aiding and assisting in Pressing seamen.

Lord Leicesters Letter upon it, requiring the Deputy Lieut^s.² to meet, but it appearing to them that they had no authority nor officers under their command for Such purposes, but for raising and regulating the Militia only, we appointed a meeting of Justices of the Peace for the Tower Liberty,³ and those who Lived in the Hamlets, who issued out Search warrants to the High Constables.

20th. The Lords of the Admiralty's Let^r with twenty Press warrants sent to Lord Leicester, which his Lordship sent to me. I carryd 'em to a Bench of Justices summond for that purpose, who were please to write their order on 'em, directed to the Constables of each Parish in the Hamlets and Tower division, and six of 'em signed and seal'd each of 'em, of which number I was one, and Chairman of the Court.

21. A fine Well Lyned with cutwhite Stone and deep and Six foot Diamiter, which allwais contained fine water, was filled up by order of the Surveyor of the ordnance Coll. Armstrong, with rubbige; the well is on the Left side of the great cellar or brick vault under

¹ In 1736 Joslin Sidney petitioned the Treasury as to the ruinous condition of the small house by the gate entering the Tower which was his by virtue of his place. The Constable, Lord Leicester, reported upon this petition and upon the need of repair to his own house which was in several parts joined to the Gentleman Porter's Lodge. The matter was referred to the Board of Works, who reported March 29, 1737, that "part of the Constable's Lodgings and particularly the Gentleman Porter's apartment and gateway adjoining is in so ruinous a condition that it is not advisable to repair it. There is also adjoining to it part of a Tower called the Bell Tower very much out of repair. . . . If it be your Lordships' pleasure to re-build the Gentleman Porter's house and take away the several ragged timber buildings that obstruct the gateway and do the other work above mentioned the charge thereof will amount to £200." The work was authorized by the Treasury on June 1, but on July 7 the Board of Works reported that their estimate should have been not £200, but £2,000 (*Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1735-1738, p. 325). As to the office of Gentleman Porter, see p. 35, note (9) *supra*.

² The Deputy Lieutenants of the Tower Hamlets (see p. 106, note (3)).

³ See note "The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

the West side of the great White Flag Tower, about 2 thirds of 1734
the way from the Doore; as they made this great vault for the Ap. 21
Keeping Salt Peter, they sayd they were obliged to fill up the
well to prevent the Damps from it.¹

May.

Got an order from the board of works for setting up a wooden Cistern Lyned with Lead, on the top of the bell Tower,² and laying pipes to it from the Street by the outward corner of the Coffe room,³ and for Setting the Copper, and Coolers &c. and in making the hole through the arch into the Cellar underneath we found it 7 foot thick of Sollid Stone and Morter, so that it is bomb proof as I believe all the arched cellars in the Tower are, which Shoud encourage the Garison to make the better defence in case of an attack.

N.B. The Copper coolers, and Brewing Vessells are all my owne and cost me above 30£ besides a good dail of trouble and Some expence in getting the order for fixing things.

y^e 28. I went with my Family to Oakingham with good Lord Leicesters Leave, receivd while there half a Buck from him.

8br 15. Returned.

25. Orders For the Batallion of the 3^d Regimt. of Guards to be relieved from their old Quarters and to March in to the Tower, in the room of a Batallion of the Second who had done their duty for the last year; gave them the usual orders.

30. Went to Court on the Birth day.

9br. 4. Bronkar our Clark of the Peace⁴ dyed, and was succeeded by his Brother

20. R^d y^e King Warrants for two Does as usual.

4. About 6 a clock a Man whose name was Noel from the West Indies being lunatick drownded him Self in Tower ditch; the

¹ "The great White Flag Tower": the well-known "White Tower," the keep of the fortress. The well was cleared out in 1881 and is now to be seen in the vault under the White Tower which was formerly used for storing salt-petre. (See Britton and Brayley, *Memoirs of the Tower*, 245).

² The Tower communicating with the Constable's House where Williamson lived.

³ Perhaps the coffee-house referred to in the entry of January 14, 1731-2.

⁴ See entry, December 22, 1726.

1734
Nov. 4

Coroner¹ insisted on a fee of 13*s.* 4*d.* but a prosecution being intended against him on the Stat 1 of H 8, he returnd the money, and promisd to insist on his fee when the Person came by his Death without Murder, no more.²

1734 9br. 21. My Lord Leicester was pleasead to send me half a Doe as usuall from his Park at Penshurst; his venison is allwais the fattest of any I meet with any where.

X^{br} 10.

The Building over the Traitors gate was new faced with stone and small flints, and new Leaded at top.

17. Gave my first memorial to his Majesty for a Regimt.³

25. Bugden the Warder died.

26. A fire Broke out in the Wooden buildings opposit to the east Wharf Gate about 11 at night; I sent to the People to desire to know if the Garison coud be of Service to 'em; they desired My help, and as Col^t. Armstrong the Surveyor of the ordnance was willing to supply 'em with Buckets and two fire Engines, for we have none belonging to the Constables Jurisdiction, I sent out an officer with thirty men, armd to keep off the Mobb, and thirty men without arms, each of which had two buckets and with these, and two engines the fire offices had sent there, the fire was soon extinguisht, and only twoaultry houses burnt.

(1734-5) Janry 3^d

Receivd a kind Letr from the Constable in which he promisd me the first warders place that fell.

7. Sr Wm. Ogborn coll. of the 2^d. Regimt. of the Tower Hamlet militia died; he was succeeded by Sr Jno. Gunson.

A fire broke out at a Punch house⁴ within ten houses of the

¹ Of the Tower Liberty. See note "The Tower Court and Liberty," Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

² Read "with murder". At this time a coroner was bound to do his office without fee except in a case of murder, when his fee was 13*s.* 4*d.* Under the statute 1 Henry 8, c. 7. he was liable to a penalty for claiming a fee in the case of a person slain, drowned or otherwise dead by misadventure. Cf. entry, 2 Jan., 1730-1.

³ See entry, December 9, 1739.

⁴ "The English have Punch-houses where the European soldiers make oblations to Bacchus." (A. Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, I, xxiv, 298 (1727), cited in *New Eng. Dict.* under "Punch-house"). And see Appendix, p. 184, *infra*.

Tower in St. Catherin's Leading to Wapping; it burnt downe 40 1734-5 houses. I orderd an officer with 40 men to march out with arms to Jan. 7 keep off the Mobb from the Engines which soon stopd its Progress on our Side, and seeing that the fire spread from us, I retired with the men at 6.

8. It blew a Violent storme, some think as boisterous as that in 1703.¹ It did great Mischeef at Sea, blew down many trees in the Park and Country, and several Chimneys in London, but we in the Tower came off better then the People else where generally did, for except one chimney in the mint, all stood fast; the whole irons² of the four weather cocks on the great White Tower, rock't like trees, but none fell, only the great ball on the Flagg Staff was blown off.

9. They finishd repairing the treators gate, the Towers and walls of the whole building, new Leaded it atop, and compleated the apartments within for the Infirmary or sick soldiers of the Garison.

10. Set two Bon Critien Pears against the South wall of the Chapell³ and two agains the East wall of the Constables house on the Parade. They with others which I sent to My Garden at Oakingham in Berks, were a present to me from Caen in Normandie.

Febry 6.

That excellent man Cap^t Pilliod dyed and was buried in Spalding Lincolnshire, in the Great Church there; he was a native of the Canton of Bearn in Switzerland, had been Secretary to that Great Soldier the Earle of Cadogan, and a Capt^a in the Cold Stream Regimt. of foot Guards; he was my fast and dear friend, and I had great reason to Lament his death, for never was man better quallified for intimacie than he was, and I had allwais flatterd my Self with the pleasure his Love and delightfull conversation would have given my old age but I was deprived of him in the 59th year of my age and the 60th. of his. Peace be with his good Spirit.

I erected a monumt. in Spalding Church, to the memory of so good a Man in which it is sayd among his other virtues, that his Attatchmt. to the Illustrious house of Hanover made him dear to his affectionate friend Col^l Adam Williamson who erected &c.⁴

¹ Defoe published an account of the great storm of 1703.

² The whole of the irons ' or, perhaps, the 'hold irons ' or supports.

³ The Chapel of St Peter-at-Vincula at the north end of the parade.

⁴ The following is a copy of the inscription on the monument in Spalding

1735

Ap. 3

1735 April 3^d.

Plunket the Prisoner,¹ being too great a trouble to any one warder to have him allwais Lodg'd in his house, they petitiond to have turne about for one year at each Warders house. I orderd 'em to cast Lots, and Settl'd the allowance he was to make 'em out of the 5^s. ¶ day which the King allowed him, vizt. ten pound p. an. for his Lodging and 1^s. p. day for the Warders attendance.

19. The Custom house officers desired a Sergt. and 12 men to go with them ten Miles into Kent, to seize there a parcel of Tea which they had notice of was Lodged there in order to be run at night into London, and according to the Kings Standing Order for that purpose I let 'em have them, the seizd about 900^{cwt} and brought it to the custom house.

N.B. the Soldiers had their Shair of the Prise divided among 'em.

April 20.

A house in the Mint was broken open and the theeves being got into the house began to pack up the goods but being heard by the people of the house and disturb'd, they made off, and tho we took up a Man and two Women that had been Loitering in the Tower all night, which a Soldier brought in a little before the gates were shut, yet we could not fix the Burglary on 'em, tho we sent 'em to Gaol. It was sayd afterwards to have been done by his owne son who lay in the house.

21. A Man was taken at Iron gate² and charg'd with enveigling

Church: "Beneath lyes the Body of Capt Francis Pilliod a native of the Canton of Bern to which he was an Honour. His polite learning and clear judgement His love to his excellent wife His affection and constancy to his Friend His attachment to the protestant Interest in the illustrious House of Hanover with his other amiable Qualities made Him dear to all who knew him but in particular to Colonel Adam Williamson of Sounherst in Berks, who erected this Monument to the memory of so good a Man. He died Febry the 6th 1734."

Does 'Sounherst' stand for Sandhurst, where Williamson had property? (see Introduction p. 9). Williamson had been Aide de Camp to Lord Cadogan to whom Capt Pilliod was secretary.

¹ John Plunket; see note Appendix, p. 174, *infra*.

² The Iron Gate is not shown on the accompanying plan of 1681-9 (see Frontispiece). In a plan of 1597 (reproduced in Bayley's *History of the Tower*, p. 1), the Iron Gate is shown at the eastern edge of the Moat connected with the south-eastern angle of the fortification by a bridge or dam, which had obviously been removed before the plan of 1681-9 was made. It seems as if in Williamson's time the name had been transferred to the gate at the east end of the Wharf

1735
Ap. 21

above 20 Men into France, under the pretence of employing 'em in a great Jobb of Works for an English Lord that was going to build a house there. The fellow was a Brick layer and when he had carried them over they were forc'd to list in the French Service, or they were put in Goal, but two of them were obstinate and would not list, but got means to write to Lord Waldgrave our Embassad^r then at Paris, who solicited their release; and on their information, the fellow was taken and sent to Newgate.

22. A Thretning Letr^r was brought in to the Tower by a boy of 12 years old to one Dowson of the ordnance, thretning him with death if he did not lay 5 guineas in a place named, the boy was taken up, examind and sent to Gaol, but at last it appearing, that a man which he knew not, nor we could not discover had employd him, he was discharged. But afterwards we heard it was foolishly done only to frighten the Man.

aust 19.

Lord Leicester was please to send me a side of Venison, the fattest I ever saw, as he usually did, and a Doe in the winter.

June 5.

Went with Lord Leicesters Leave to Berkshire with my Family for the Summer.

8br^r. 20.

Returned to the Tower.

25. A Batallion of the first Regimt. reliev'd the 9 Companys of the 3^d. Regimt. of Guards, and I had an order from the War office for that end.

9br. 7.

Plunket the Prisoner¹ was taken ill of the Stone and suppressⁿ of Urine; he was searchd by a skillfull surgeon and found to have a stone in his bladder, tho he sayd he never had any Simptom of it before.

A warder dyed and my Lord Leicester was please to give Me the Nomination of a person to succeed him, as usual for Constables to do once in their time.

(see p. 133, note(5)). The position of the Wharf Gate had been changed between the making of the two plans. In the earlier plan that Gate appears in a line with the eastern edge of the Moat; in the plan of 1681-9 it is further to the west.

¹John Plunket; see note, Appendix, p. 174, *infra*.

1735
Nov. 7

Soon after, another dyed, and My Lord gave that to the Majr. of the Towers nomination. These make up in some measure, the great expence we are at, in entertaining the officers of the Guards, which is unavoidable, and Coach hire often to attend the Cunstable and other incidental Charges attending our posts.

10. Sent out a Sergt. and 4 men with my Sevt. arm'd to assist the Custom house officers, they went up the river, and seiz'd one horse Loaden with Tea.

Janry 173⁵₆.

Being a Governr. of the Hospitall at Hide Park Corner,¹ and at a meeting of the Governrs. there, it was agreed to apply to Parliamt. for a Charter, in which Many of the great officers in Church and State were to be perpetual Governors, My Lord Oxford² being in the Chair, it was mooved that the Lord High Admiral, or first Lord of the Admiralty should be inserted, and agreed to. I then mooved that the Constable of the Tower of London should likewise be inserted in the Charter and it was likewise agreed to.³

Febyr y^e 7.

South, Secretary to the Constable for the affairs of the Tower of London and Hamlets, Dyed of a Consuption and was succeeded by Roger Williams, who kept a Coffe house in St. James's Street.

16. the day after the full moon, the Tide rose so high as to Cover part of the wharf, and came as far as the further part of the Steps Leading to West end of the Line opposit the Constables house I live in, to ye infermery.⁴

¹ St. George's Hospital, formerly Lanesborough House, opened in 1734. The present building was erected 1828-9. (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*).

² Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford (1689-1741).

³ The Constable of the Tower is not now an *ex-officio* Governor of St. George's Hospital.

⁴ "Parallel to the Wharf, within the walls, is a platform 70 yards in length called the Ladies' Line because much frequented by the ladies in the summer, as within it is shaded with a lofty row of trees and without it has a delightful prospect of the shipping. . . . You ascend this Line by stone steps and, being once upon it, you may walk almost round the walls of the Tower without interruption" (*An historical description of the Tower of London* (1754), 6). The Resident Governor of the Tower had control of the guns on the Line, those on the Wharf being under the ordinance officer (see entry, May 24, 1738). The Infirmary was over the Traitor's Gate (see entry, January 9, 1734-5). On February 16, 1735-6, the water was higher in the Thames than ever known before. It was two feet deep in Westminster Hall and, the Courts being then sitting, the Judges had to be carried out (*Gent. Mag.* vi, 110).

1736 April ye 15.

1736
Ap. 15

Plunket the Prisoner¹ being grievously afflicted with the Stone and two being taken out of the urinary passage which were as big as the largest hart cherry stones I ever saw, they lodgd Just below the frenum and being serched afterwards with a Catheter by Doctr. Bamber² and finding an other stone still in the Bladder, he Petitiond the Duke of Newcastle the then Secretary of State that his Majesty would be pleasd to give Leave that Doctr. Bamber or any other Skillfull Surgeon might be appointed to extract the sd. stone from him.

16. The Duke sent his Majestys order for that Purpose, and to tell the Surgeon that he should be satisfied in reason for his care of the prisoner.

The same day I had a lett. from Mr. Courand the Dukes Secretary to tell me, that the Duke thought Mr. Chisselden,³ a famous Surgeon would be the best in the Prisoners case.

N.B. he cut the Lateral way.

19. I had a lett. from Ditto to tell me the Apothecary who furnishd Medcins to Plunket, should be payd his reasonable bills.

April 17. Mother Thomas an old Drunken Woman who kept the Warders Sutling house by the Guard room at the Wharf bridge,⁴ dyed, and was so poor her effects would but bury her.

N.B. The Warders having receivd the rent of the house, and desiring to have it continu'd to them, the Erle of Leicester orderd them to produce their books by which it appeared they had receiv'd the rents for 80 years past. On this the Constable gave them Leave to let it by Lease in which it should be inserted the house was granted to them by the favour of the Constable, and the tennant to be remooved at his Lordsp's. Pleasure, which I took care was inserted, for it was let to one Hartwell, a Carpenter belonging to the office of Ordnance, and he was to repair it at his owne expence, and we feard the ordnance might in time Claim it.

¹ John Plunket (*see Appendix*, p. 174, *infra*). The entry following that of October 25, 1736, should precede or follow this one, with which it seems to be connected. See also entries Aug. 17 and 21, 1738.

² John Bamber, M.D., made a fortune as a surgeon in the City of London, and afterwards practised as a physician, having been admitted to the College of Physicians in 1724. He died in 1753. (*Munk, Roll of Physicians*, ii, 107).

³ See p. 99, note (1), *infra*.

⁴ The draw-bridge from the Byward Tower to the Wharf.

1736
Ap. 26

1736 April 26.

The Princess of Sax Gotha Landed at Greenwich. I went there next day to have the pleasure of seeing her: She stayd there two days, then went by land to Lambeth, and was married to Frederick Prince of Wales that night.¹

May the 21.

With Lord Leicesters Leave, I went as usual for the summer to Oakingham in Berks.

22^d. The King left St. Jameses early in the morning, ferryed over at Lambeth and went by land to Greenwich where he went on board his yatch, at eight in the morning and saild for Holland, in his way to Hanover.

23. I went with Lord Leicesters Leave as usual with my Family to Berks.²

July 28.

The Rioters broke the windows and houses of sever^l. inhabitants who were Irish in Spittle Fields, rag fair,³ Lemon street, and Several Parts of our Libertys and Hamlets. The militia was raisd, and on Saturday, 30, they rose in great numbers in the same parts to play the same game, but a detatchment of our Garrison marchd out and surprised and dispersd them; we took five of them in the fact and I committed them to Newgate. The first news of this disturbance brought me Post to Towne.⁴

August 6.

Lord Leicester was pleasd to send me a side of Venison as usual.

7. All being Perfectly quiet, the Militia not being any longer under arms, nor the Detatchm^t. of Horse Guards sent to Tower Hill 200 as they had don for three nights successively, with Lord Leicesters Leave I returned to my Family at Oakingham, leaving orders to send an express to me, if anything extraordinary hapned.

6. We had on the occasion of these Tumults an order to Assist,

¹ April 26 was the date of the marriage.

² Compare entry of May 21, *supra*.

³ "Rag-fair in Rosemary Lane [now Royal Mint Street], where old cloaths are sold every day by multitudes of people standing in the streets." (Noorthouck, *London*, 760).

⁴ See note "Riots," Appendix, p. 183, *infra*.

with Detatchm^{ts} from our Garison, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, or any other Civill Magistrate where soever in suppressing Riots Mobbs, or any Tumultuous assembly but not to repell force by Force unless thereto required by the Civil Magistrate, or in case of necessity.

1736
Aug. 6

7^{br} 28.

The apprehension of Riots and dissorders from the ginn Act,¹ which forbid the drinking retaild Spirituous Liquors, caused the government to reinforce the Garison with three Companys of Guards and all the officers of the 12 Companys were ordered to Lye in the Tower, and the Lords of the Council ordered them to be quartered; this gave the Officers of the Guards a very good pretence not any more to pay for their Lodgings in the Tower, as they before had done and appliccation was Made by me to the Secretary at War, and Ministry, that regard should be had and something done towards providing Quarters for them.

29.

Our Chaplin Doctor Haukins dyed²; he was an old man very Gouty and troubled with the Stone. He had been Chaplin fourty years, and was succeeded by Mr Harbin³ at the Recommendation of the Earle of Leicester; he has his Commission from the King.

8^{br} 2^d.

The Rioters⁴ were tryd at the old Baily and fined, imprisond for 2 years and find Suretys them selves in a hundred, their bail in fifty pounds for good behavour for two years more.

25. The Batallion of 12 Companys of the first Regim^t of Guards was relieved by a Batallion of 9 of the 2^d by a Let^r from the War office, and I billited the officers on the Warders, promising to see them payd.

¹ *Ibid.*

² According to an entry in the State Papers "the Revd. William Hawkins, Vicar of the Tower," died June 12, 1736 (*Cal of Treasury Papers, 1735-1738*, p. 444).

³ Edward Harby, "Vicar of the Tower of London," received pay from the Treasury at the rate of £26 13s. 4d. a year (*Cal. of Treasury Papers 1742-1745*, pp. 415, 436). In 1672 the salary was £20 per annum.

⁴ See entry July 28, 1736.

1736

Oct. 25 1736 8^{br} ye 25.

Kelly¹ made his escape from the Tower; he was indulgd with Leave to go abroad for his health he having had a convulsive Asthma according to the rapport of the Phisicians who were orderd by the governm^t to visit him but believe it was more a feignd disorder than real. However he was by the order to be sufferd to go, or ride abroad accompanied by an officer for four hours a day at convenient times; this he frequently did, accompany'd by the Major or Gentlenian Gaoler, who enlargd the four hours absense by degrees to a whole day and at last often to come home late at night, for which I repremanded them and complained of it to Our Constable the Earle of Leicester and to the Lieut^t, General Compton, but they continued careless, believing a Prisoner who had such indulgences, and a crowne a day constantly payd him from the Kings bounty. Joynd to the word of honour he had given them under his hand, never to attempt an escape when he was first admitted to go abroad, would not have left them so dishonourably. But there is no faith to be given to Prisoners, and I advise all officers to do their duty with regularity, as well as civillity, and to keep to the letter of the orders without relaxing, for if you deviate a little from them, they are never Satisfied till you give more and more Libertys, til at last, you must either become criminal or in ceasing to gratifie them, they fall out with you, revile and treat you as an ill NATURED MAN and TYRANICAL in your Office, forgetting all the former civillitys and relaxings from the orders. This, long and frequent experience has Manifested, and particularly, in this Vile fellows case, who after he had been treated with the greatest lenity by the Governm^t and by Me, made his escape in the manner following—v^t.

The day the Garison was reliev'd by a Batallion of the 2^d Regim^t of foot Guards he chose as a proper day for it. He had ordered a great Horsemans coat to be made of red Rugg² and brought home to him, but he found fault with it and never wore it but sayd he would carry it to the Tailors the first time he went out. About 2 a clock he and Fowler the Gaoler went out in a Hackney Coach and he had this great Coat put into the Coach to him; they went to the other end of the Towne, and loitered there til it was dark, and then Kelly pretending to find it cold sayd he would put

¹ George Kelly. See Appendix, p. 166, *infra*.

² *Rug*, a coarse, nappy, woollen cloth. (*Johnson's Dict.*).

on his great coat and go home to the Tower; he returned in the same Coach he went out in, having the great coat on which he had never been seen in by any body in the Tower. It was very dark when the Coach came in, and he discharged it [at] trators gate and walkd up the steps to the Parade with Fowler, and pretending that he was engaged to spend the evening with a Warders Son who was Mate of an Indiaman, and was to go to sea next morning, Fowler and he parted at the head of the steps and saw him go towards the house where he was imprisond at No. 3 but did not give him into the care of his Warder who was there expecting him, but went directly to his owne house on the Parade at No. 8. Kelly seeing him Self left a lone, did not go into the house, but in his red coat marchd directly out of the Tower, without being perciev'd by the Warders who allwais are or should be at the Gate to see all who go out, and come in. Had either the Gentleman Gaoler deliverd him in to the care of his Warder as he should have done, or had the Warders at the Gate inspected narrowly at the gate all those who go out, the escape might have been prevented, nor should Kelly or any Prisoner be suffered to have a red Coat to put on, and had I been informd that such a Coat had been made for him, I should certainly forbid it, believing it could have been Made with no other designe than to favour an escape, the colour being the same with the officers who are frequently going in and out of the Tower particularly on a day of general releef as this was; and I orderd all Prisoners on such days or any other that brings crowds into the Tower, as when the Prince of Orange, or Duke of Lorain came, to be lockd up and not permitted to go out of their appartments.

Some time after we heard he had got to Calis¹ from whence he went to the Duke of Ormond at Avignion where he stayd some time. N.B. he had given his word under his hand never to attempt to make an escape from the Tower, but the officers of the Tower should trust only to their own dilligence and not to the word of such Traitors, especitally of Old Irish Papists² as this fellow was, on whose faith I advise Englishmen never to relye.

¹ See note "George Kelly," Appendix, p. 172, *infra*.

² In the entry of January 26, 1730-1 Williamson says or implies that Kelly was a non-juror.

1736
Oct. 25

1736

April 2^d.¹

Plunket being grievously afflicted with the Stone, the Duke of Newcastle signified his Majesty's pleasure that an Apothecary should furnish him with Medecins and y^t his reasonable billis should be payd.

xbr. 20th.

Our old Surgeon Tho. Blake dyed old and Gouty, and was suc. ceeded by Thomas Davis, surgeon mate to the first Regim^t of Guards, given to him by our Constable the good Earle of Leicester. N.B. he has his Commission from the King.²

1737 Janry 15. [1736-7]

Five Irishmen and a Woman were condemned at the Old Baily, Rian, MacMahon, Faril, Faulkener and Fitzgerald, for Robberys on the High way and the woman for receiving and selling the Cloaths they stript the poor people off, knowing them to be stolen. The Manner they were discoverd was accidental v^zt by a Fellow being stopt on Tower Hill by a Custom house officer who had a bundle under his great coat which he took to be prohibited goods; being examind it appeard to be two great dirty riding Coats. These, and a Pistol being found upon him, the Fellow was brought before me.³ He would confess nothing, but on threatnring to describe the coats and him in an advertisement, and commit him on Suspicion, he returnd as he was carrying⁴ to Gaol and made a full confession, and was admitted an evidence. Faulkner dyed in Newgate, the first three were hangd, and Fitzgerald and the Woman transported.

May 25.

With the Constables Leave I went with my Family as usual to My house in Berks. Ld. Leicester sent me there half a Buck.

8^{br} ye 12.

Returned to my duty in the Tower, but I should have enterd that 7br. ye 27th our Constable the good and generous Earle of

¹ This entry is out of its proper order. Probably the Diary was transcribed from loose memoranda. Compare entry of April 19, 1736.

² The appointment of Surgeon was by the King's commission at the recommendation of the Constable. (Bayley, *History of the Tower*, 667). As to 'surgeon mate', see *New Eng. Dict.* Sub 'Mate.'

³ As a Justice of the Peace of the Tower Liberty; see p. 26 *supra*. Compare entry July 28, 1736.

⁴ Cf. p. 119, note (1).

Leicester Dyed, Lamented by me and all who knew him, of a 1737 sudden fit of the Gout in his head at His house in Penshurst in Oct. 12 Kent.

9br. 20th.

Our most excellent Queen Caroline, Queen Consort to King George the 2^d dyed of a mortification in her Bowels, occasioned by a Hernia Umbilicalis, which she had too long conceald from her Surgeons. She was an inimmitable Patern of every virtue, to all the Princeses of the world, and consequently her death was an afflicting loss to all good Subjects, as well as to his Majesty and her Children.

Her Body continued at St. Jameses till the 16th of Xbr. at 12 at night and was then caried privatly in a Herse escorted by a detatchm^t of horse guards, to the Princes Chamber at Westminster,¹ from whence the next day at 6 in the evening, through a boarded Gallery, lined and ceeld with black and floored with the same, she was carried to Westminstr Abby and interd in a New Vault built purposely for the Royal Hanover Family, all of Portland Stone, containing 7 arches or chambers. It was begun and finished between the time of her death and burial by three sets of Workmen, that relieved one the other so that there was no cessation night or day from the Work. The Queen's Corps was layd, in a large Black and yellow veind Marble Vase, wide and long enough to hold two coffins side by side; the Vault is under the very center of K. H: the 7th Chapple.²

Xbr. 5.

We had orders from the Duke of Manchester Captⁿ. of his Majestys Yeomen of the Guard to send up as many of the Yeomen of the Guard who are appointed to do duty in the Tower, which we call Warders, as we could spare, to assist at the funeral, which I did early in the morning of the interment and sent him 31 men. N.B. they had all Black Cloaks given them.

12. The Lord Chamberlin sent a black Pulpit Cloath &c. to our Chapple.

¹ The 'Princes Chamber' or, 'Old Robing Room', which was pulled down in 1823, adjoined the south side of the old House of Lords (Brayley and Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace of Westminster*, 421).

² See an account of the funeral in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vii, 764.

1737
Dec. 13

13th. An Order of Council was sent us for firing Minute guns round the Tower and wharf which we did during the whole time of the Funeral vzt. from 6 a clock til 9. The Wharf began and we took it from them.

1738 Jaūry 22^d.

It had been Customary from the beginning of my time and long before for the troop to beat¹ on Sundays an hour sooner than other day vzt. at 8 a clock, and the guard to relieve at 9; this was don that the drums should not incomode the Church Service, and gave occasion to the Chaplin to begin Prayers often sooner than people could conveniently get ready for it. In order that we might have convenient time for Dress and preparation I orderd the drums to beat and Guard to mount as usual on other days vzt. at 9 and ten.

March 23^d.

I had information that one Lawrance had perswaded two soldiers of the foot Guards to list in the Prussian Service, and had given them notes for ten pounds each, to be payd at their Landing in Hambourg and browne coats to disguise them. On the information of the Soldiers them Selves I took a file of musketeers, and seizd the Fellow, just as he designed to have gon on board the gravesend Tilt boat,² I committed him to Newgate, he was tryd condemned and Hangd.

1738 May ye 24.

The Princess of Wales was Safely brought to bed of a Prince, George,³ at half an hour past 7 this morning being Wednesday; we Immediately made our guns ready, but the order for firing did not come to us from the Secretary of State, til past ten at night, when the Guns of the Wharfe and ours round the Line were fired. On our Master Gunners applying to the Princes Privie purs with a Let^r. from me he was orderd a donation of 10 Guineas.

N.B. the Wharf Gunners had none of it, for on the birth^{of} the Princes Augusta,⁴ they got 10 Guineas, and gave ours none, but we were this time beforehand with them.

¹ "To beat the assembly."

² See note "The Gravesend Tilt-boat," Appendix, p. 184, *infra*.

³ Afterwards George III. He was born June 4 (N.S.).

⁴ The eldest child of the Prince of Wales, born July 31, 1737.

Augt. y^e 17. We receivd the Duke of Newcastles order for Mr^r 1738
Cheselden¹ to remoove Plunket to a Lodging near him for the con- Aug. 17
venience of cutting him, and to be attended by a Warder.

21. Plunket was remoovd to a Lodging near the Surgeons Mr^r
Cheseldens in Red Lyon Street and cut wednesday the 23^d and dyed
the next day. There were 3 stones taken from him, the last broke
which causd the whole opperation to last 14 minutes. He was
opened, and his kidneys tho no Stones were in them, were found
extreamly flabby and rotten, occasioned as I am apt to believe, from
eating for years past great quantitys of oyle. He was Interd in a
burying ground near the place in a Privat manner at the Kings
Expense.² His books, money, and cloaths, he desird should be given
to his nephew; as the whole was of small valliew I orderd them to
be given to him, he giving a receipt for them, and acknowledging
under his hand that he receivd them from us as our gift and free
gift; for which he confessd him Self very much obliged to us,³ the
Same thing I made Welsted do, to whom Kelly (that notorious
Raskall) had given all his effects left in the Tower after his escape.⁴
And this was done, as they were of small valliew, for had they been
worth insisting on, We look on the Goods of those committed for
high Treason, and left in the Tower after the death of the Prisoner,
as the Perquisit of the Commanding officer in the Tower See Sr^r
Gervis Elvis Tryal in the case of Sr Thomas Overbury.⁵

¹ William Cheselden (1688-1752), Surgeon. His method of operation for the stone became famous throughout Europe. His ordinary fee for the operation was £500 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

² Plunket died in James Street near Red Lion Street, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Pancras (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

³ The receipt is as follows: "Tower of London, August 28, 1738. I acknowledge to have received from Col. Williamson and the officers of the Tower all the effects money books etc. which my uncle John Plunket dyed possessed of; and they being of small value the said officers gave them to me and waved their right to them for which I humbly thank them and acknowledge myself very much obliged. Thos. Plunket." (*Tower Records* iii. 196.)

⁴ As to Kelly's escape, see entry Oct. 25, 1736 *supra* and note "George Kelly," Appendix, p. 171, *infra*. Welsted belonged to the Ordnance Office (*Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. George Kelly*, 1736, p. 23).

⁵ Sir Gervase Elwes or Helwys (1561-1615), Lieutenant of the Tower, hanged for complicity in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* sub "Helwys"). The passage referred to is no doubt the following statement by Chief Justice Coke to Helwys at his trial: "Two days before Sir Thomas Overbury died you wished his man to bring his best suit of hangings to hang his chamber, which you knew were your fees." (*Howell's State Trials*, ii, 941).

1738 Oct. 17 8br. 17. I came with my Family from Binfield¹ to the Tower for the winter.

25th. The Garison was reliev'd by a Batallion of the 3^d. Regim^t by order from the Secretary at War as usual. The same day a Fire broke out in the Warehouses joining to the New buildings of the Custom house on the east side; it burnt furiously and consumed about sixty foot of building both in Thames Street and on the Keys. I orderd out immediatly two officers with a hundred men, half I posted in Thames Street, the other on the Keys, and had the Water Engines kept clear from the Mobb by dividing each Party in two bodys one on this side the engines the other on the other so that they playd with freedom. The Secretary at War, Sr W^m Young, Charles Churchill, Maj^r Gener^l, and others came from the other end of the Towne, as did the Lord Mayor, to see how we did. Sr W^m Young gave the soldiers five Guineas to drink, the Commissioners of the Customs sent them ten, and they and the Lord Mayor sent me their thanks for the great care I had taken, having been with them til the fire was reduc'd which was about one in the morning. The Commissioners of the Customs sent the two Subalterns five guineas a piece; Capt Lepipre refused to take any reward but Ensign Wood took it greedily.²

March

y^e 20th. Layd in all the Coals for the Garison as usual for the whole year.

1738 March y^e 14.

The Prince of Walles's second son was borne about 3 a Clock in the afternoon. We fired our Guns Round the Tower and a fire and ale, was given on the hill as usual. The Prince orderd our gunners ten guineas which they receiv'd from Capt Bloodworth Privie Purse.

N.B. He was christend Edward.³

¹ Binfield in Berkshire, 3½ miles from Wokingham, where Williamson had previously had a house. In his will he refers to his house at Orange Hill, Binfield. The house was subsequently occupied by his daughter and her husband, Mr and Mrs Fox.

² The fire was to the west of the Tower and to the east of the Custom House, and seems to have extended from the river front back to Thames Street.

³ Edward Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, died 1767.

1739 July ye 2d.

1739

I was promoted to the Rank of Brigadier Generl. and was the July 2
Oldest but one in the Promotion.

1740 July.

Ld. Cornwallis Sworen in Cunstable of the Tower and presented
to us in the Tower.¹

1739 8^{br} 23^d.

War was Proclaimed against Spain at St. Jameses gate, Charing Cross, Chancery Lane and the Royall Exchange, but not on Tower hill.² The Heralds were attended by a troop of Horse Guards and Grenadr. Guards, and in the City by the Lord Mayor.

25th. The Batallion of the 3^d. was reliev'd by a Batallion of 9
companys of the first Regimt of Guards.

[Nov. 5 (?)] I had a Let^r. from a Justice of Peace desiring immediat assistance to Suppress a Riot in Spittle fields. I forthwith sent him a detatchmt^t. of ten men from each of the 9 Companys, who got there Just in time, to Save the house and Person of a Master Weaver from distruption, for ten thousand of the Populace were assembled and busyd in braking the Windows and endeavouring to brake into the house. The Guard was reliev'd next day by an Officer and 5 men P^r Company, the day after by a Serg^t. and twelve, the next day by a Serg^t. and 6, and the next the Soldiers were withdrawn, all being quiet, and no blood shed.

N.B. the above Riot was caused by a false report that the Master Weavers had a designe to oblige the Weavers Wives, or them Selves to wind their Silk without being payd for it, contrary to former usage, but this the Master Weavers denied on oath and publishd their denial of any such intention and Printed and dispersd it among them, which probably contributed a good dail to Make the fellows easy.³

¹ This entry should have been inserted under the following year. See entry May 12, 1740.

² Cf. entry, March 30, 1744. The warrant for the proclamation (*London Gazette*, Oct. 20-23, 1739) directs it to be made in the usual places. It was made at the Palace Gate, St. James's, at Charing Cross, at the end of Chancery Lane, at the end of Wood Street " where the Cross formerly stood," and at the Royal Exchange (*Ib.*).

³ It appears from a certificate of " Justice Harwood " amongst the Tower Records that the Riot Act was read by him on November 5, 1739, " in order

1739
Nov. 5

The same day we had orders from the Secretary at War to send a hundred men before brake of day to the Dock Yard at Woolwich; the ship builders there had taken possession of the Yard, and would let nobody go in to work till their grievances were redressd, but they gave way to the troops. There was added to these 100 men 60 of Lord Pembroke's horse; they stayd there ten days and left everything quiet and the Men at Work, no blood shed.

N.B. The men complain'd of several impositions as that they were denied the Chipp's they formerly had, that when they worked on Sundays as they often did, their Wages used to be doubled.¹

An Irish fellow one Kelie was taken up by My warrant in Southwark for inlisting his Majestys subjects for the French service; he was tryd and found guilty at Kingston Azises March 27th. I was desired to subsist the 2 evidence² which I did for 17 weeks. He was tryd at Kingston for a misdemeanour, fearing the proofs would not come upto felony, and found guilty, and was transported.

Xbr. ye 9. I was honour'd with an audience of the King in his Closet

to disperse a mob which has arose [sic] in Spittle Square and are now assembled there opposite to Mr. James Godin's house, upon what occasion I know not saving that it is said some malicious reports have been given out to the journeymen weavers in prejudice of Mr. James Godin; and unless some soldiers are sent to disperse the mob, the said Mr. Godin his family and house, as well as the other inhabitants, will be exposed to eminent (sic) danger." On November 6 the Secretary of War writes to Brigadier Williamson: "I have received yours with the enclosed which I have read. I hope there is no farther danger, but as the gentlemen desire it, you have done quite right to let them have a guard for tonight." (*Tower Records*, v, 109, 110). Sir Walter Besant's account of this riot and the cause of it (*London in the Eighteenth Century*, 479), corresponds with the statement in the Diary. He adds: "The guards came, the Riot Act was read, the crowd did not disperse; therefore the soldiers charged them and arrested a great many who were brought before the magistrates. It is not stated that any were killed in this affair, but the soldiers suffered from the tiles and bricks that were hurled upon them from the roofs of the houses." From the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739 (p. 602), we learn that ten of the rioters were committed to Newgate.

¹ "A battalion of guards and a troop of horse marched to Woolwich to quiet the workmen in that yard who mutinied about their pay and refused to work" (*Gent. Mag.*, 1739, 602). "Chips," i.e. the surplus wood after the carpenter had cut out what he required, were a perquisite of the officials and workmen. In 1803, when the Government had taken over the chips, those from Plymouth Dockyard sold for £3204 (*House of Commons Reports* XIII, 499; *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. 188, p. 45).

² I.e., to provide board and lodging for two of the witnesses for the prosecution.

in St. Jameses who was graciously pleas'd to say he would provide 1739
for me in the Tower or Army. Dec. 9

1739-40 March.

The new Commission of the peace was Issued for the Liberty of the Tower, Mr. Barbut and Johnson my friends added.

1740. April 3^d.

Presented my book of Military Maxims &c.¹ to the King and Duke of Cumberland, and as the Kings order on the difference between his Majesty and the Prince forbade me to go to the Princes Court, I waited on Lord North,² the then Lord of his Highnesses bed Chamber, and desired the favour of him to present it to the Prince.

April y^e 24. Lord North came to the Tower by the direction of his Royal Highness to thank me for My book, to let me know his Highness had read it, and that it had given him a great dail of pleasure.

May y^e 8th. Princess Mary was espoused by the Duke of Cumberland³ in the name of the Prince of Hess at the Chapple at St. Jameses; the Wharf guns fired, from those in St. Jameses Park, but our guns round the line did not, nor no bone-fire or drink to the Warders.

12th. Lord Cornwallis⁴ kissd the Kings hand for Constable of the tower.

13th. His Majesty went early from St. Jameses, crossd the Ferry at Lambeth,⁵ and went in his coach to Graves end, where he embarkd on the board the Yatch, but the Wind being contrary, he was obliged to come to an anchor at the Nore, where he stayd, in chilly cold weather til the wind came fair 9 days, but then had an excellent passage.

¹ See Introduction, p. 6.

² Francis North (1704-1790); succeeded to the barony of Guildford in 1729, and to the barony of North de Kirtling in 1734. He was called Lord North from the latter date until created Earl of Guildford in 1752. He was Lord of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales, from 1730 to 1751. (G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*).

³ Mary (1723-1772), daughter of George II, sister to the Duke of Cumberland; married to Frederick, Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel in June, 1740. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*); and see entry June 5, *infra*.

⁴ Charles Cornwallis, First Earl Cornwallis (1701-1762). Created Earl 1753. (Doyle, *Official Baronage*). Sworn in as Constable in July. (See entry following that of July 2, 1739).

⁵ The first Westminster Bridge was not opened till 1750 (see p. 125, note (2) *infra*).

1740 June 5 June 5. The Princess of Hess left St. Jameses, embarkd that morning early at Greenwich, saild and was next day in Holland.

17. The Garison was payd the half year ending Xmas last.¹

18th. The Battallion of Guards marchd to their camp on Hounslow heath, and were reliev'd by 2 Lt. Col's. 6 Subs, and 20 men & company Serg'ts. and Corporals included, from each of the 27 Companies in the first Regimt of Guards.

1740 8^{br.} ye 25.

A Battallion of the 2^d. Regimt. reliev'd a Battallion of the first as usual.

X^{br.} 30. At half an hour after seven in the morning the Princess Elizabeth 2^d. Daughter to the Prince of Wales was born;² between one and two the Park guns fired but ours on the Wharf and Lyne had fired an hour before. The Prince gave to our Master Gunner and the four other Guiners ten Guineas as before, of which they gave my Servants 1.16.0.

1740-1

Janry ye 12. Died Lt. Generl. Compton³ aged ninety years, from his old age. He had lived the last two years in a sort of Stupidity, and allwais in a Most close and avaritious Manner, never having (in the time I servd here now above 18 years) invited me or any other inferior officer, to dyne with him, or so much as to drink a dish of Chocolate, tho' he had dined with me in the Tower all most as often as I invited him. He prided him Self with being of the Northampton Family but lived without Generosity, and for him Selfe only. His eldest son was just of the same miserable disposition.

1741 (1740-1)

March ye 21. Dyed Alderman Parsons Lord Mayor of London.

23^d. On Monday following the Alldermen chose for their Mayor Alderman Daniel Lambert,⁴ who after he was Sworen in before them, sent the City Remembrancer to Brigadr. Williamson then Deputy Lieut^t. the Lieut^t. being dead, to know if he had any precedents of a

¹ Compare Introduction, p. 10.

² Elizabeth Caroline, died unmarried Sept. 4, 1759, and buried in Westminster Abbey (*Gent. Mag.* 1759, 438, 442).

³ See note "General Hatton Compton," Appendix, p. 185, *infra*.

⁴ See note "Sir Daniel Lambert," Appendix, p. 186, *infra*.

Mayor being Sworen before the Constable of the Tower or his Deputy, in the absence of the Barons of the Exchequer, who were then on their circuits, for that by the Words of the City Charter, if the King and Barons are out of Towne the Mayor shall be sworne at the Outward Gate of the Tower.¹ They searchd but found only the Oath the Mayor takes, which is in the old Folio Parchment Book² and desired he would go from the Lord Mayor to acquaint the Lord Cornwallis our Constable with everything, and search their owne Books for Precedents.³ They did so and applyd that night for the Kings Writ requiring the Constable of the Tower to Swair him the Lord Mayor into his office.⁴ Application was then Made to the King, who

¹ The Bulwark or Lion Gate.

² This book, entitled "Articles, Ordinances, Privileges, &c., from the year 1603," is still in the Tower.

³ The City Charter of 26 Edward I (May 28, 1298) as given in Birch's collection (*Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London*, 1884, p. 43), runs as follows: "We, willing to show more ample favour to the said citizens in that behalf, do grant to them for us and our heirs, the Mayor of the said city, when he shall be chosen by the said citizens (we and our heirs and our barons not being at Westminster or London), they [sic] may or shall be presented or admitted to and by the Constable of our Tower of London yearly, in such sort as before they were wont to be presented and admitted; so as nevertheless that at the next coming of us or our heirs to Westminster or London, the said Mayor be presented to us or our heirs and admitted for Mayor." It might be supposed from the statement of Serjeant Pulling (*Practical Treatise on the laws, customs, and regulations of the City and port of London*, 2nd ed., p. 17), that the seventh charter of Henry III (June 12, 1253) provided for the presentation of the Mayor to the Constable of the Tower in the absence of the King and the Barons of the Exchequer, but, in fact, the Constable is mentioned for the first time in the charter of 26 Edward I.

⁴ The following is a copy of the writ: "George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c To our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor Charles Lord Cornwallis Constable of our Tower of London or his Deputy Greeting. Whereas by Charters of our Royal Progenitors formerly Kings of England it was granted to the Citizens of our City of London that the Mayor of the same City when he shd be elected by the same citizens (We or our Heirs or our Barons of the Exchequer not being at Westminster or London) should be annually presented to the Constable of our Tower or his Lieutenant or Deputy without the Gate of the sd Tower and shd be there admitted in such form as at the sd Exchequer he was formerly used to be presented and admitted as in the charters aforesaid more plainly appears And because our wellbeloved citizens of our said City of London have lately chosen Daniel Lambert Esquire Alderman of our said City of London into the office of Mayor of the said City according to the form and effect of the sd Charters and the Liberties of the same City Therefore we command you that you do admitt the sd Danl Lambert (who by our said Citizens hath been elected to be Mayor of our

1740-1
Mar. 23

ordered the Board of Works imediatly to erect a Large Court of Wood¹ and the Lord Chamberlin to Line it, and put the Kings Arms at the head of it, the floor of this Court was five feet from the ground, the plan and Elevation is on the other Side² with its just dementions. As the Surveyor of the Board of Works promisd it should be ready by Thursday Morning that time was appointed for it. Next day we calld a Board of Lieutnants³ and orderd both Regim'ts of the Militia of the Tower Hamlets to be under arms on Thursday Morning by eight a Clock on great Tower hill, to draw up there in good order the Regim'ts faicing each other, and to continue there til they receivd farther orders from the Constable. At night, the Brigad^r was orderd by the Constable to go with his Secretary Mr. Compton to settle everything necessary for the Ceremony with the City remembrancer, but some difficultys arrising he went to the Lord Mayor and soon returnd with his Lordships desire that these two Gentlemen would come and confer with him in Gild Hall. They waited on him, and found his Lordship intended to come on Tower Hill through his Bar at Crutchet Fryers and march from thence to the Constables Court with his Sword erect, but in regard the City pretends to lay a Claim to some part of Tower hill and that there had been old disputes between the Mayors of London and the Lieuts of the Tower, these Gentlemen objected against it, and sayd their

said City and shall be presented to you) into the office of Mayor of our sd City of London in such form as the Mayor of the sd City being elected and presented at our Exchequer in former times hath been accustomed to be admitted at our sd Exchequer. Witness ourself at our Palace of St. James's the 24th day of March in the fourteenth year of our Reign" (*Tower Records* v, 148). Note, that the King was at St. James's but the Charters only provide for the event of his absence.

¹ The following letter was addressed to the Board of Works by the Constable of the Tower: "Gentlemen, His Majesty's Service requires a Scaffold to be built without the Tower Gate in the nature of a Court to receive the Lord Mayor Elect who is to be Sworn in by me or the Lieutenant according to their Charter. I desire you will give directions for erecting forthwith such a Scaffold as you shall think proper for that purpose. I am Gentlemen, Yours &c., Cornwallis. Dover Street, 24th March, 1740-1. N.B. Orders were given accordingly" (*Tower Records*).

² These are wanting.

³ The Constable of the Tower had the command of the Militia of the Tower Hamlets by the title of Lord Lieutenant. The Tower Hamlets, twenty-one in number, including the Tower Within and the Tower Without (see above, p. 26, note (2)), were exempted from the jurisdiction of the county of Middlesex by Act 14 Charles II, c. 3. There were numerous Deputy Lieutenants of the Tower Hamlets. As to the Tower Hamlets, see S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government—The Manor and the Borough* p. 98 note.

complyance might one day be brought as a proof or consent to the claim they lay to our ground; but, on their declaring that they allwais carried their Sword erect through Westminster to the Bar of the Barons and only reversd it there, that the writ sayd he was to be Sworen in before the Constable in the same Manner as before the Barons, and that their being allowd to carry the Sword erect should be of no consequence as to any right or demand they pretended touching the grounds in dispute—it was agreed they should March to the Court with their Sword erect as they do quite from the City to Westminster Hall.

1740-1
Mar. 23

An other demand or request they made was, to have the Liberty of being preceeded by the Artillery Company, who are a body of about three hundred Men at arms well disciplined and uniformly accouter'd with a Company of Grenadiers of their owne body at their head, drums beating &c. It was thought by the Brigadr that when they came on the Tower ground the Militia of the Hamlets or the Warders was suffitient for his Lordships guard, and that he would be glad if he would be pleasd to let them come no farther than Crutchet Fryers Bar, but these mermidons¹ it seems allwais march before the Lord Mayor even to the Bar in Westminster Hall; so on the score of the Warrants saying the Mayr " Should be sworen in before the Constable in the same manner as he is at Westminster," this was acquiesd with, and everything being setled as to the ceremony after that between the Brigadr and the remembrancer and Mr Compton, and drawn up in writing, they Parted.

A copy of what was agreed on, shall be hereafter inserted.² Orderd all the warders to attend a Thursday morning by nine a Clock, and five to be immediatly addled to the days wait,³ two of which were sent to the Constables to bring any extraordinary orders he had for us.

(1741)

March y^e 25. In the morning early the Board of Works began to erect their Scaffolding and by ten next day they had finishd it and the Lord Chamberlains People had hung it all round and over the ceiling

¹ Johnson's definition of a myrmidon is: " Any rude ruffian; so named from the soldiers of Achilles." But Williamson hardly uses the expression in this sense, for he describes the Artillery Company as " well disciplined and uniformly accoutred."

² This is wanting.

³ See above, p. 74, note (2).

1741

Mar. 25

of the Court half, with a sort of green stuff like Bais but not napt 2 yards wide and worth about a Shilling a yard, tho' when taken downe they offerd by [but?] ninepence so that it being My Perquisit I orderd it all to be brought home after the Ceremony of the day was over, and gave a good dail of it to the Serv^{ts}. for under Peticotes and some I sent in to the Country; there was about 150 yards of it, at 2 yards wide.¹

26. Everything being ready, and the hower for the Lord Mayor being appointed at two a Clock to be at the Court, the Constable came to the Tower at twelve. I orderd two Warders to attend at Crutched Fryers Bar and when the Lord May^r came through they were to attend him one marching on one side of his Coach the other on the other. This I did to keep up our right to the Ground he marchd over. Two other Warders were posted at our Bar² which joyned the other two, when his Lordship came through. At Length the Constable who went into Court, and opend it by the Cryer, who was the Jaol keeper on the Hill,³ stayd there til three a clock before the Mayor came, which did not pleas him. (So that I should advise on the like occasion that the Constable should continue quiet in his owne house till word is brought him that the Mayor is coming through the first bar, and that orders be given not to open our Bar for the Lord Mayor to Pass, til the Constable is got into Court and sends his commands for opening them). At length the Mayor came in his Coach preceeded by the Artillery Company as I sayd before, the Livery men of the Vintners Company of which he was one; the Artillery Company when it came to the steps of the Court wheeld to their right and as was agreed, marchd through an opening the Militia made for them, and drew up behind them streatching in to Tower Street to receive the Lord Mayor as he went home and march before him.

The Members of the Vintners were order'd to be let into Court. At

¹ Baize: "A coarse woollen stuff, having a long nap, now used chiefly for linings, coverings, curtains, etc., in warmer countries for articles of clothing, e.g. shirts, petticoats, ponchos; it was formerly, when made of finer and lighter texture, used as a clothing material in Britain also" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

² It would seem that this was the bar running east and west from Great Tower Street to the Moat, shown on the Frontispiece. If so, the temporary court must have been to the south of this, and near the entrance to the Tower. This agrees with the words of the City charter quoted above: "The Mayor shall be sworne in at the outward gate of the Tower." (*See entry March 23*).

³ See entry "December the last," 1730.

this time the Lord Mayors Coach stopt half way between the Bar and ¹⁷⁴¹ the Court steps; he got out as did the Aldermen and who attended Mar. 26 him out of theirs, and when they had got together which took about ten minutes, he came in forme¹ into Court. As soon as he had set foot on the floor with the sword bearer on one side and the Mace on the other, they all three uncoverd and Made a low bow, to which the Constable what sat with his hat on, gave a gracious Nod, without touching it. Then they all three in a brest² and bairheaded, advanc'd to the Middle of the floor and made a deep obeisance as before, the Constable giving only a graceous bend of the head with his hat stil on. Then they came to the Bar, turnd downe the point of their sword and Lowerd the Mace and made a most respectfull Bow to which the Constable took off his hat and bowd and then put it on again. During this time their Coaches, according to order, drove through an opening of the Militia on their left and drew up on the hill behind them between the ditch and their body. After these bows were over the City Sergent, the Recorder being sick, and the deputy on his Circuit, made a short speech to the Constable signifying that the City of London had made Choice of this worthy Person to be their Mayor, spoke much of the great weight the City has in the affairs of the whole Kingdom as it is the Metropolis and then proceeded to say fine things of the Mayors great abillitys and how worthy a Choice the City had made, to which the Constable made a shorter answer, and sayd that he was commanded to admit him Alderman Lambert in to his Office of Lord Mayor, and that he did not doubt but a person whom the Citizens of London had made Choice of, for an Office of that importance was duly quallified for it, that his having been some years an Alderman, must have Made him well acquainted with the Nature of his Business and that, from his owne good quallitys and the favourable opinion his fellow Citizens had of him, he was persuaded he would discharge his duty to the City with honour.

N.B. in the Recorders speech he sayd not a word of the Mayors affection to the King, or the Protestant Religion. My Lord Cornwallises Speech was about Six lines, and the Sergant twice as Long. When they had done, the Mayor gave the Writ to the Constable seal'd up as it came to him from the King, which being deliverd by him to the deputy Steward, the Steward³ being then out of towne,

¹ "In due form"; see *New Eng. Dict.* under "Form," 11, b.

² "In a breast," obsolete form of "abreast"; see *New Eng. Dict.*

³ Steward of the Tower Court, see Appendix, p. 161, *infra*.

1741
Mar. 26

he broke it open, and silence being cryd by the Cryer, he read it audibly. Then the Gentleman Gaoler Abraham Fowler who sat with a White rod, as Sherif, in the absence of the Earle of Leicester, our Gentleman Porter, got up and went Cross the Table with the new Testament and held it to the Lord Mayor til the oath of Mayor was read to him, then the Mayor desired the Constable would be pleaseid to keep the Kings writ among our Records, which the Constable promisd (and he accordingly saw it lockt up in Our Presses among the other Papers and Commitments &c.) When this was over the Lord Mayor with his sword and mace bearers made their bows at the bar to which the Constable nodded, then the same in the Midle of the Room the Sword and Mace erect, and lastly a reverend bow just at the door, to which last, the Constable took off his hat and bowd. Then the Mayors Coach came to the steps of the Court, and took him in, as the rest did all the Aldermen, and so they marchd off to the City through Tower Street; but I should have sayd, before they left the Bar the Mayor invited the Constable, me who sat on his right hand, and the Major¹ on his left, to dyne with him that day. The Constable and Major accepted of it but in regard I had got a great cold and was feverish, I did not go, but begd of the Chamberlain, who sat just below me, to Make My excuses to his Lordsp.²

After the Ceremony was over, I advised My Lord just to March by the front of each Regimt of the Militia in order to review and be saluted by them, which they were extreamly ambitious of. His Lordship was pleaseid to go and was first saluted by his owne Regimt going, and by the 2^d. Regimt Returning, the two Regimts Made a Street, but should have opened it wider, for the officers had scarce rome to drop the spears of their Pikes. N.B. At the day I setled every thing with the Lord Mayor, I begd he would order his Constables, to stand by Seething Lane end and let no Coaches pass that way to Tower hill, and all that came, to turne them up Seething Lane or go back again,³ and at the Same time we had the Bar at the end of Thames Street in George yard⁴ and the Mayors bar by Crutchet

¹ The Major of the Tower.

² Amongst the extraordinary duties of the Constable or Lieutenant of the Tower in early times was the execution of writs against the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of London who were accused of defaults in good governance, because the Sheriffs were parties to the business (Statute 28 Edward III, c. 10).

³ *I.e.* That coaches coming eastward along Tower Street were to be turned northward up Seething Lane.

⁴ This bar is not shown on the accompanying plan (*see* Frontispiece), which

GENERAL WILLIAMSON'S DIARY

III

Fryers kept shut all day, so that there was not a Coach but the Mayors and his attendants there.

The Officers of the Militia who with their Men were drawn up from the Court, through the Bar, and as far as they could stretch on Tower hill, were orderd to beat a March and Salute the Lord Mayor Comming and going.

May the 3^d. The King went from St. Jameses in his barge to Greenwich to embark for Holland. We fired our guns as he passd.

August ye 14. His Majesty was please to promote the four eldest Brigad^{rs} to the rank of Maj^r Gen^l., vzt. Folliot, Williamson, Sinclare and Wentworth; our Commission were signed by the King at Herenhouzen in Hanover.

Monday

8^{br} the 26. A Batallion of the first Regim^t of Guards, relieved the Batallion of the Coldstream Regim^t in the Tower, by order from Sir Wm. Yonge Secretary at War signified by his Let^r as usual.

Mr Silvester, an inmate, who rented the house next the Surveyors dyed; his father had formerly been blacksmith to the Ordnance. Without My knowledge or Leave of the Constable, his Sister had the ground opened on the Parade close to the Chappel Wal, joyning to the Porch on the E side, and there built a brick Vault, and would have raisd a Monument over it and raidl it round, but in regard it would have taken so much from the Parade, and others might have made it a presedent, I applyd to the Constable, and he forbid it and orderd them to have Leave only to Lay a flatt stone over it, and that no other Vaults should be made there, and that to be in Common for other People.

1741 X^{br}. ye 25.

Dyed Sir Charles Wills Kt. of the Bath, Col^l. of the first Regim^t of foot Guards, and Gener^l of the Ordnance;¹ he was buried in Westminster, and the guns on the Wharf fired minute guns for as many as he was years old for his being a Board Officer of the Ordnance; he was 75 years of age.

N.B. it is minuted in the Ordnance books that the Wharf guns makes Thames Street debouch without a barrier on the ground enclosed by the bar at Great Tower Street (*see p. 108, note (2)*). A barrier would be necessary to block this approach to the Tower on occasions.

¹ Sir Charles Wills (1666–1741); served in Flanders and against the Scotch rebels of 1715; was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance April, 1718, and Colonel of the Grenadier Guards August, 1726 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

1741
Mar. 26

1741 shall fire minute guns for the death of every Board Officer if his
Dec. 25 relations desire it.

1742 April the 15.

Dyed Maj^r General Armstrong Surveyor of the Ordnance¹ of a Palsy, loss of Memory and Speech, of which he lay afflicted for three months, and gradually wasted away till he mortifyed. He was buryd in the Chapple of the Tower under the seat or Pew where the Surveyor allwais sits, and in the grave where his Wife had been buried 17 years before. His Pall was supported by Gener^l Wade, Lt. Gen^l Honeywood, Maj^r Gener^l Folliot, Maj^r. Gen^l Williamson, Brigad^r Hush and Coll^l Lassells,² who succeeded as Surveyor of the Ordnance and Ingineer Gener^l. To each of the bearers were given Scarfs, hatbands, gloves, and rings. I was prevaild with against my inclinations, to give Leave for the funeral to be by candle light for I allwais endeavour to have them performd by daylight, as they are unavoidably attended with abundance of Mobbility.³

N.B. at their request I orderd 12 warders with their Partisans⁴ to precede Corps, and 4 to take care to keep the Mobb out of the Chapple to each of whome they gave crapes for the bonets and Partisans, gloves, and a pinte of Wine; minute guns from the Wharf fired, his age 67.

¹ John Armstrong (1674-1742), Major-General and Quartermaster-General, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance and Chief Engineer of England, F.R.S. Served in the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*); and see next note.

² Thomas Lascelles (1670-1751), Colonel; served throughout Marlborough's campaigns; appointed with Colonel John Armstrong (see last note) under the Treaty of Utrecht to superintend the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk; acted as Surveyor-General of the Ordnance in 1727 during the absence of Colonel Armstrong; on April 30, 1742, appointed Master-Surveyor of the Ordnance and Chief Engineer of England in the place of General Armstrong; served through twenty-one campaigns and present in thirty-six engagements (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He is referred to in the entry of October 27, 1745.

³ See entry November 8, 1729, p. 64 *supra*. "Mobility"; in cant language, the populace. (*Johnson's Dict.*).

⁴ According to the *New English Dictionary* this word was "obsolete from circa 1700 till revived by Scott and nineteenth century antiquaries." Williamson uses it more than once; see pp. 71, 124.

1742. May the 10.

1742
May 10

Majr Gener^l Williamson had the honour to kiss his Majestys hand, for the Government of Gravesend and Tilbury,¹ added to what he befre enjoyed, vzt Deputy Lieut^t. of the Tower, and Captn. of Carisbrooke Castle,² and his Commission dated the same day.

26. Went in my Chariot to Gravesend Visited the fortifications of it, and Tilbury, treated the officers under My Command and returnd the next day to the Tower.

27. The 3 Battallions of Guards embarkd and saild next day with four Marching Regiments for Oastend, and Landed there.³

31. Lord Cornwallis our Constable presented Lord Henry Powlet⁴ to us, as Lieut^t. of the Tower.

1743 April ye 23^d.

Johnson the Warder dyed, and was succeeded by a son of Hall the Warder who resigned to him.⁵

May ye last. 101 Highland Deserters⁶ were sent Prisoners to the Tower; we put them all into three Lower Barracks in the Irish Mint, by the Lords Regents orders, they were allowed a pd. and a half of bread, half a pound of good chees and a Pynt of Oatmeal Porridge ℥ day, which I provided for them, and receivd 4^d. ℥ day for each man.

¹ See the next entry and that of February 7, 1743-4. Hasted, *History of Kent* (1778) i, 450, incorrectly gives the date of Williamson's appointment to the post of "Governor of the Fort of Gravesend and that of West Tilbury" as 1737, and his death as occurring the same year. In an Act of 1773 (13 George III, c. 15) for paving, cleansing and lighting the streets of Gravesend, "the Governor for the time being of His Majesty's town and forts of Gravesend and Tilbury" is named as a commissioner for carrying the Act into effect. As to the forts see R. Pocock, *History of Gravesend and Milton*, 162-170. Hasted says that the Governor's salary was £300 per annum. The Governor of Tilbury Fort claimed the ferry rights from Tilbury to Gravesend (Pocock, 170); and see p. 11, *supra*.

² See note "Captain of Carisbrooke Castle," Appendix, p. 186, *infra*.

³ The embarkation was no doubt from the Tower.

⁴ Lord Harry Paulet, or Powlett, second son of Charles, second Duke of Bolton, to which title he himself succeeded on the death of his brother Charles, the third Duke, in 1754. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* sub "Paulet, Charles, third Duke of Bolton.") Lord Henry Paulet is also referred to in the entries of October 10 and 22, 1745.

⁵ It would seem that Hall had succeeded to Johnson's post and resigned it to his (Hall's) son.

⁶ See note "The Highland deserters," Appendix, p. 187, *infra*.

1743
June 2

2d. [June?] Three of them 2 Corporals McFarsons and a Piper Don^l. McDougal, were orderd to be seperated from the rest and kept a part in close confinement. I put each in a Warders house, with a Warder and a Sentinell on them; they lay on Straw, allowd to each man two Trusses.

8. A Court Martial held at the Constables house where I live, sat on the Prisoners, Majr. Generl. Folliot President, they were all found Guilty, and the

17th. of July the two Corporals Mc. Fersons and Forquaher Shaw, were orderd to be Shott within the Tower, by the soldiers of the 3^d Regimt of Guards then on duty. They had six days notice given them to prepare for death, which the poor fellows did very seriously, and with great devotion. I orderd (the day of their execution) that the Battallion should be under arms at Six in the morning on the Parade without beat of Drum, that the rest of the Prisoners should be brought out and drawn up before them to see the execution. When all was ready the Prisoners (who at four in the morning were brought into the Master Gunners house on the Parade where one of them had been confined for the convenience of the Ministers praying by them all together,) were brought down and Pinion'd in the little fore Court, and led to the spot of execution, which was just before the blank wall of the south east end of the Chapple¹. There they all three kneeld downe and the Minister prayd about 9 minutes with them, and the other highlanders I orderd to kneel and Joyne with them in prayer, which they did seemingly with great devotion and prostration. Then the three who were to Suffer kneeld downe, and were orderd to draw their caps over their eyes. All this while they saw not the men appointed by Lott to shoot them, which made Samuel McFarson the bravest of them, when the Parson had done Praying by them, say, what are we not to be shott, where are the men who are to shoot us, to this it was answerd, if youll kneel downe, and draw your Caps over your faces youll soon be dispatchd. With that the poor fellows did so, and then the eighteen men who were on the write Wing by the corner of the Chapple advanced, and four to each man, were by the wave of a handkerchif, without any word of Command, directed to Make ready,—Present—fire, which they did, all at once, and the three Men fell at the Same moment dead, but as Shaw and Samuel McFarson, had some little tremors and convilssions, I orderd 2 men of the Reserve

¹ The portion of the south wall which now contains the easternmost window was formerly blank.

1743
July 17

to shoot them through the head. They were immediatly put in Coffins and buried in one Grave made for them just before the South west end of the Chapple. There was not much blood spilt, but what was, I orderd immediatly to be coverd with earth, and their grave to be Leveld, so that no remains of their execution might be perceivd. To keep out people from thronging about us, I had the keys of the Gates kept, from the time of Shutting, Lockt up, till all was over the next day. So that everything passd, with the greatest order and Quietude. The rest soon after were sent as recrutes, some to the Leward Islands, some to Carolina, and thirteen to Gibraltar, and as many to Minorca.

8br. ye 23. Returnd with my Family from Berks to the Tower for the Winter.

9br. ye 15. The King Landed after a short and favourable passage at Gravesend, the news came to us at 3 a clock, we fired our Guns immediatly, and on his passing over London Bridge at five a clock we fired again. The next day I had the honour with Multitudes of others to Kiss his Majestys hand at his Court of St. James.¹

1743 Feby 7th.

The Brest Fleet of 22 Sail appeard on our Costes, and certain intelligence came to his Majesty soon after, that the Pretend^rs Son was on board, and that the French intended to invade his dominions in favour of the Popish Pretender, and that they expecced to be Joynd by great Numbers of his Majestys dissafected Subjects, which his Majesty acquainted Both houses of Parliam^t with, and they upon it adressd the King with a most warm and affectionate Adress.

They continued hovering off and on our Costes til the fifteenth, at which time, Sr John Norris with a superior Fleet saild from St. Hellins and soon after a violent storm arose which dispersd the French fleet, and we heard no more of them.²

Ditto. Col^l. Wm^m. Cecil³ was committed Safe and Close Prisoner for High Treason.

At this critical time⁴ I prayd for an Audience of the King to know

¹ " Multitudes "—Dettingen was fought June 27, 1743.

² February 25, 1743-4. A great storm destroyed twelve French transports at Dunkirk, and compelled 15,000 troops to disembark. (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 11). See entry, March 21, *infra*.

³ See note "Colonel William Cecil," Appendix, p. 191, *infra*.

⁴ By Act 17 George II, c. 6, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended from February 29, 1743-4, until the following April 29.

1743-4
Feb. 7

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GENERAL WILLIAMSON'S DIARY

his pleasure where I could serve him most usefully, and he was please'd to order me not to go to my Governm^t at Tilbury but abide by and take care of the Tower, saying he knew I was a good Man, and that he could confide in me. I put my hand on my brest and assured his Majesty, in a humble and respectfull manner that my heart was allwaies at his Service.

I stird not from the Tower after this; every officer and man of the 9 Companys of the first Regim^t of Guards were orderd in, except those recruiting, Powder and Ball, chargd Granades &c. were Brought into our Magazines. I let in the Water of the Spring tide fill'd our fosse and kept it in,¹ I orderd an officers Guard to mount at the Spur and Wharf, I doubled our Sentinels and orderd them to be reliev'd every hour, which serv'd as a frequent Round, and went the Rounds myself, orderd the gates to be shut at night fall, and to be Lockt at 9 a clock, that no Stranger should be admitted under the pretence of seeing the armorys &c. nor no shabby ill looking fellows under any pretence what so ever, that the Soldiers should prepare cartridge in a Brandance,² ready for Service, that our Gunners should be constantly in the Tower, and that they should see the Cannon ball deliverd to them fitted their Guns, that our Warders should be all call'd in, and that at the first appearance of a Mobb, or numbers of People on the Wharf or Tower Hill, the Gates should be shut, and a rapport made to me of them. I orderd the relief of the Guards of the following day, should be the Picket of the night. I orderd the Alarm posts for each company, and had the Col^{ls}. and Subaltern officers often at Dinner with me, to keep up Harmony among us.

Febray .

27. The Battallion of Guards marchd out of the Tower by order of Lord Stair Commanding in Chief the Forces in South Britain and were relieved by Wentworths Regim^t of foot, that had been with him in the West Indies³ and had not above half their Complim^t of Men, which should be 70 to each Company, Exclusive of Commis-

¹ It may be gathered from this that the spring tide was not usually held back. The moat was converted into a dry ditch in 1843, when the Duke of Wellington was Constable.

² Abundance ?

³ This refers to the disastrous expedition to the West Indies under Admiral Vernon, with Brigadier-General Wentworth in command of the land forces, which was recalled in the autumn of 1743 (*see Dict. Nat. Biog. sub "Vernon, Edward."*)

sion and non Commission Officers. As the Regim^t was Compleat in Officers, the Constable orderd every house in his department, to finde an empty room, for each officer. As the officers were not exempted, we took in 22 of them.

1743-4
Feb. 27

1744 March ye 9th.

A detachm^t of 2 Cap^{ts} 7 Subalterns and 150 men exclusive of Serg^{ts} Corporals and drums, were orderd in to reinforce Wentworths Weak Batallion, the detachm^t was from Harisons Regim^t.

21. They all Marchd out, and the Batallion of Guards returnd to us from Kent, whither they marchd to be at hand to repell the French if they had invaded us, but a furious Storm drove their transports on Shore at Dunkirk, and that, with a Superior fleet to oppose them in the Downs, and a Seeming perfect unanimity amongst all the People to oppose them, made them lay a Side their pernicious scheme for this time, and we were quiet.

22d. I went to the other end of the Towne, waited on Lord Stair, commander in chief.

1744

30th. War was proclaimed against France, at St. Jameses, Charing Cross, opposit Chancery lane end, the West end of Cheapside near St. Pauls Church, and at the Royal Exchange in high Change time.¹ We in the Tower had no hand in it, the Guards who attended were one troop of horse Granad^{rs} preceding the Heralds, and one of horse guards following them.

April. It was orderd that four Companys of the Batallion of Guards should march to Quarters in the Tower Hamlets, to make room for the Pressd Men which were sent to us in abundance, and all the care we could take or orders we could give, prevented not their escaping. 9 at once slipt downe the wall by a rope, and the counter Scarp wall being broke, they got up and ran for it.

1744

May ye 11. Coll Cecil was Baild out at the Old Baily before Judge Burnet him Self in 5000£ and four Suretys in 2500£ each.

June ye 27. All the Recruits Sent to the Sever^l Regim^{ts} they were allotted to.

¹ "High change," the time of greatest activity on 'Change. (*New Eng. Dict.*, "High," 21). Cf. entry, Oct. 23, 1739. Dettingen had been foughⁿ in June, 1743.

1744 June 29 29. I went with the Constables Leave to my house in Berks whence I now and then came to the Tower,¹ and

8br. ye 14. returnd with my Family as on the margin for the Winter; during this time our good Constable Lord Cornwallis gave me half a Warders place and a promis of being as good to me as My Predecessors the former constables had been.

25. A Battallion of the Coldstream reliev'd the Battallion of the first Regim^t of Guards as usual for the whole succeeding year.

1745 May 19.

Went with my Family to my house at Orange Hill² Berks, returnd with a Spitting or rather Coughing up blood, for which I had two Large Issues made in my back, between ye Shoulders.

July. The Lord Cornwallis our worthy Constable of the Tower was pleasead to give me the Nomination of a Warden as all the other Constables had done³ except the Duke of Bolton, whose necessity would not let his generosity take place.

8br. ye 13. Went to meet the Duke of St. Albans and the Berkshire gentlemen at Reading for an association and Subscription and returned the 18th of the same.

1745

8br. 16. The Venetian Embassad^r made his entry here, in the same Manner the Hollond Embassador did.⁴

N.B. The Lord Cornwallis and L^d. Henry Paulet⁵ did not come to Towne on this occasion. I made him a short speech which he answerd.

8br. ye 22^d. The Lord Cornwallis with L^d. Henry Pawlet came to the Tower, and I had the honour to go with them to the Court House in White Chappel,⁶ to meet the Deputy Lieut^s⁷ and many of the

¹ On July 4 Lord Anson's treasure, valued at half a million, and contained in 32 waggons, passed through the City on its way to the Tower. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1744, 336, 392; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub "Anson, George.")

² No doubt the house at Binfield, referred to in the entry of October 17, 1738. In his will dated June, 1747 (P.C.C., Potter 299), Williamson refers to "my house on Orange Hill, in Binfield."

³ But see entry May 4, 1731.

⁴ As to the visit of the Dutch ambassadors, see entry March 4, 1727-8.

⁵ The Constable and the Lieutenant.

⁶ Compare p. 78, note (1).

⁷ Of the Tower Hamlets (see above p. 106, note (3)).

principal of the Inhabitants to propose an association and Subscription among them at this time of an unnatural Rebellion in Scotland.¹

8br. ye 22^d. We Mounted an Officer and 25 men on the Spur Guard by Order of the Duke of Cumberland, Cap^{tn} Generl.

8br. 22^d. The Kings order for the Tower Garrison to assist in quelling any Mut^y on board the men of Wars Tenders in the River.

8br. ye 27th. The Princess was safely deliverd of a Prince at Six a Clock in the morning; one of our Gunners brought the news but I sent a Warder to the Prince's house who brought the Confirmation of it. The Surveyor of the Ordnance Coll Lassels objected against firing the Wharf guns for want of a Proper notification from a Secretary of State but I ordered our guns round the Tower to Fire, which they did at one a Clock; the Ordnance hoisted the colours but did not [fire] til half an hour after, when they thought better of it. N.B. he was Christned by the name of Henry Fredrick.²

xbr. 2^d. The Detatchm^t of Guards doing duty here was reliev'd by Braggs Regim^t of foot.³

6. A Soldier committed for disertion, and being a good evidence for the King against S^r Hetur McClean for takeing arms against the King and being a Lieut^t. Coll in a Scotch rais Regim^t for the Service of France, made his escape from the Main Guard by the carelessness of the Sentinel over him.⁴

xbr. 6. M^r Ratclif call^d Lord Derwentwater, and James Ratclif his son,⁵ Clement McDermot⁶ and McDonnold eldest son of Glengarry of the Highlands,⁷ were committed for high Treason.

¹ The Young Pretender landed in Scotland July 25, 1745; the battle of Preston Pans was fought September 21; the march from Edinburgh to Carlisle began October 31. By Act 19 George II, c. 1, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended from October 18, 1745, until April 19 following. The Act 19 George II, c. 17, recites that "the said rebellion is still carrying on" and extends the suspension until November 20, 1746. The period was extended to February 20, 1746-7 by Act 20 George II, c. 1.

² Afterwards Duke of Cumberland.

³ The 28th Foot, "the Old Braggs," so named after their Colonel, Lieut.-General Philip Bragg (died 1759) who had served in Marlborough's campaigns (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

⁴ See note "Sir Hector Maclean," Appendix, p. 191, *infra*.

⁵ See note "Charles Radclyffe and James Radclyffe," Appendix, p. 192, *infra*.

⁶ See note "Clement McDermot," Appendix, p. 198, *infra*.

⁷ See note "Young Glengarry (Pickle the Spy)," Appendix, p. 198, *infra*.

1745 13. The Provost of Edinburgh Archibald Stewart, was committed
Dec. 13 on Suspition of Treason.¹

14. Eight officers taken at Sea going from Dunkirk to Scotland were sent here, committed to Safe custody, and no crime Mentiond. They were as follows

Murtock McGennis, Capt. Tho. Kennally, John Rily, Robert Grace, Edmond Rily, Marsel Devant a Frenchman, Edmond Dunn, James Seaton a Scotch Gentleman, all officers in the Irish French Regimt. and 17 Privat men 9 of them French and 8 Scotch.²

1745³/₄ Janry ye 25.

An order from the Duke of Newcastle Signifying his Majestys pleasure, that the 17 French Prisoners taken on board the Soleil Privateer³ and for six weeks imprisond in the Tower should be sent to the Martialssea Prison,⁴ which I did this day according, under a guard of a Sergt and 16 Soldiers; three that were sick I sent in a hackney Coach, and the Yeoman Warder Bains with them, who brought me the Gaolers Receipt for them.

N.B. I tyd the well men two and two, they all had their dinners before they went.⁵

1746 April 14th.

Three of the Prisoners borne in France with young Redclif borne in Roam, were sufferd to go to France on their Parole not to serve against our King or his allies, til exchanged, but to hold them Selves ready to returne to such place or prison as his Majesty should appoint; the others being natural borne Subjects, were not lookd on as prisoners of war.

18th. Col^l Radclif began to live without Suppers, at 5 guineas per

¹ See note "Archibald Stewart," Appendix, p. 200, *infra*.

² These prisoners were taken with the two Radclyffes on board the "Esperance." The names of the officers appear, with some variation of spelling, in a list in the *London Gazette*, November 30, 1745: "Murdock Gennis, Capt.; Thomas Renally, Lieut.; John Riley, Lieut.; Robert Grace, Captain reformed; Edmund Riley, Lieut.; Mersaial Devant, Lieut.; Edward Dunn, Lieut.; James Seaton, Capt." According to the *Tower Records* (iv, 9) the second named prisoner was "Kennally," and the sixth "Martial Devande." Kennally, Edmund Riley and Devande were discharged April 10, 1746, and the rest June 17, 1747.

³ Re-named the "Esperance."

⁴ See note "The Marshalsea Prison," Appendix, p. 201, *infra*.

⁵ See note "Private soldiers imprisoned in the Tower." Appendix, p. 201, *infra*.

week, before that he payd Seven. He had Liberty to Walk in the Tower with an officer attending.¹

1746
Ap. 18

Lord Cornwallis orderd that the Gentleman Porter, should have no admittance to a State Prisoner, nor have the Leste care of them, but that as the gates of the Tower are his only concerne he is not to Meddle with anything else. Sr Tho. I'onson being Gentleman Porter, a K^t. of King Jameses Making (as it is Sayd) after his abdication.

May ye 29th. The Earl of Cromarty² committed Prisoner for high Treason, Lodgd in the Bloody Tower, Lord Kilmarnock³ ditto Lodgd in the upper room of the round Tower by the Warders gate, where the Duke of Monmouth was imprisond, and Lord Balmerino⁴ in the room under him in the same Tower,⁵ all three without Servants, and each attended by 2 Warders, and Sentinels at the Doore; one warder was orderd to Ly in the room with them.

June ye 20th. Lord Marquis of Tullibarden⁶ committed for high treason, imprisond in My house; Lord McCleud⁷ son to Lord Cromarty for high treason kept in the Watergate Tower and Mr Murra⁸ brother to Lord Donmore for ditto confined in Dukes the Warders at No [blank]

July the 3. Lady Cromarty permitted to see her Lord in my Presence.

4. Lord Cromarty Lord Kilmarnock and Balmerino permited to see and be alone with the friends they desired to see for once. They had four days before receivd notice to prepare for their tryals the 28th instant at Westminster hall with a copy of their indictment. They had likewise pen ink and paper allowd.⁹

¹ Col. " Radclif " is Charles Radclyffe (*see Appendix*, p. 192, *infra*).

² See note " Earl of Cromarty," Appendix, p. 204, *infra*. Culloden was fought April 16, and announced in the *London Gazette* of April 23.

³ See note " Earl of Kilmarnock," Appendix, p. 210, *infra*.

⁴ See note " Lord Balmerino," Appendix, p. 214, *infra*.

⁵ In the entry July 28, 1746 (p. 124, *infra*), Williamson refers to the place of imprisonment of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino as the " Monmouth Tower." See note " The Monmouth Tower," Appendix, p. 219, *infra*.

⁶ See note " Marquis of Tullibardine," Appendix, p. 221, *infra*.

⁷ See note " Lord McLeod," Appendix, p. 222, *infra*.

⁸ See note " William Murray of Taymount," Appendix, p. 224, *infra*.

⁹ By warrant of July 4, 1746, Lord Ellibank and Sir John Gordon, Bart., are to have access to Lord Cromarty, George Ross to Lord Kilmarnock, and John Maule to Lord Balmerino " between 10 and 6 on Saturday 5th or Sunday 6th inst, the three lords to have the use of pen ink and paper for writing petitions but not for writing letters except under the restrictions then existing." (*Tower Records* iv, 19). See entry of July 7.

1746 July 5 5. Lord Marquis of Tullibarden came sick to the Tower and was by order attended by Doctr Willmot the Kings Phisician.¹

5. Lady Balmerino allowd to see her Lord in my Presence.

7th. On the Pet^tion of Lord Cromarty and the Earle of Kilmarnock to the house of Lords, for Sollicitors to attend them, the Lords were please^d to give Leave that George Ross should attend the Earle of Kilmarnock, and Adam Gordon² the Earle of Cromarty, as their solicitors.

The Forme of a Prisoners Petition
to the House of Lords.

To the Rt^t. Hon^{ble} the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in
Parliam^t assembled

The Humble Petition of —— now a Prisoner in the Tower
humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner having had notice given him that his Tryal
is appointed to be on the —— day of —— humbly prayes your
Lordships will pleas to appoint —— to be his Sollicitor and your
Petitioner shall ever pray.

N.B. The Lords receive no Letters or Motions, all favours must be
by Petition. N.B. Council and Sollicitors allowd.

1746

July 7. Lord McCleud changed his imprisonment and came to My
house, at the farther end of the Line.³

8. The Marquis of Tullibarden Continuing dangerously ill and
weak, was attended by Doctr. Willmot and Harvey⁴ the Phisicion
of the Tower, and by Mr. Ranby⁵ the Kings Surgeon. As he com-
plained of a hardness and pain in his belly and made little urine
and had likewise a pain in the end of his Penis they orderd a
Catheter to be passd into him and to their great Surprise, they drew
off two quarts of urine, a quantity they did not think the bladder

¹ Sir Edward Wilmot (1693-1786), Bart., appointed physician to George II in 1737. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) The Marquis was committed on June 20; *see* entry of that date.

² Perhaps a relation of Sir John Gordon, Bart., referred to in note (9), *supra*.

³ The "King's House" at the west end of the Line, where Williamson lived.

⁴ See note "Doctor Harvey," Appendix, p. 160, *infra*.

⁵ John Ranby (1703-1773), appointed Principal Sergeant-Surgeon to the King in 1743 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

capable of holding. This Stopage they Judgd was occasiond by a stricture of the Sphinkter or passages from the bladder.

1746
July 8

9th. At near ten a Clock in the morning Lord Tullibarden dyed, and by his Brother the Duke of Athols request he was decently but at as small expence as could well be, interd in the West end of our Chapple in the Tower. I was chief Mourner, with a Cloak and crape hat band, the Dukes Gentleman was in the same, with both of us black Shammy gloves and in black Cloaths sword and buckles; the Majr. attended and the Gentleman Gaoler with all my Servants in their livery, to all these were given white Gloves; the two Warders who attended him in his sickness and death marchd in their proper Cloaths one on each Side the Coffin, with their Halberds the Point downe; the Coffin was coverd with black Cloath studded with white nails and handles cost 5^l there were no Paul bearers none in the Tower being of dignity for it. The Duke made Me a Present of all the Little plate he had his Cloaths linnen and everything he brought into the Tower and generously payd our fees but as a Commoner, vzt. 50^s to me 10^s to the Porter, and 5 guineas to the Gaoler. I had agreed with the deceasd for 10 Guineas a week, for diet Lodging &c. which he payd.¹

July ye 14. The good news of the King of Spains death came to us.

19. Mr. Morray of Broughton² the Pretenders Sons Secretary in the Rebellion of Scotland was committed to close and Safe Custody for high Treason, we Lodged him over the Water Engine.³

ditto. Lady Balmerino was by order admitted to be with her Lord for eight days and nights.⁴

23^d. Receivd a Precept from the house of Lords commanding the Chief Governr. Lt. or his deputy to bring the bodys of the Earle of Kilmarnock, Earle of Cromarty, and Lord Balmerino to the bar of their house with a Copie of their Sever^l Commitments, on the 28th Inst^t. at 9 in the Morning.

24. Having had some discourse with Mr Murray of Broughton by which I found him disposed to Make full discoverys of all the Treasonable transactions he knew of, I signified it to Ld. Cornwallis our Constable, desiring him to acquaint the Duke of New-

¹ See note " Marquis of Tullibardine," Appendix, p. 221, *infra*. Perhaps the fees were those payable on the death of a prisoner.

² See note " Murray of Broughton," Appendix, p. 225, *infra*.

³ I.e., in the tower at the Traitors' Gate, an appropriate prison-house for Murray, as afterwards appeared. As to the water-engine, see p. 61, note (2), *supra*, and *cf.* entry June 20, 1746.

⁴ See note " Lord Balmerino," Appendix, p. 214, *infra*.

1746
July 24

castle the then Secretary of State of it, telling him, that as My attatchm^t. to the duty of My office at this time would not suffer me willingly to go out of the Tower, I desired he would represent it. And I receivd a Let^r. at noon telling me the Lord Chancil^r. Hardwick, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Earle of Harrington, would be at the Tower by 7 a clock in the evening. I got my dyning room ready, wax Candles &c to receive them, and had the Prisoner brought to my house to be at hand for them. They came at 8 and stayd examining him til one a clock in the morning, to good purpose, for his discoverys were great and full.¹

July 27. I orderd everything Ready for Carrying the three Lords to the house of Lords tomorrow.

28. At 7 in the Morning a detatchm^t. of two officers 3 Serg^{ts}. 2 Corporals and 56 men were ready on the Parade, and a third officer the oldest, to be at my house with an old Cap^{tn}. of My acquaintance,² these two each to attend and take care of his Prisoner til we returnd to the Tower. As Lord Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino were Lodgd in the Monmouth Tower³ Markd No. 1 and No. [blank] I sent a Coach with the Major and an other with the Gaoler each to bring the Lords to me at my house and when the two Lords came, I sent for Lord Cromarty who was imprisond in the bloody Tower, to come likewise, when we were all in the great room next the Thames, and the Guards dispersd in the following manner

Disposition of the Guards.

A Serg^t. and a file of Granadrs. to march as an advanced guard, after him the oldest Officer with 18 men marchd without beat of Drum, in the rier of them four Warders with their Partisans 2 and 2, then marchd the 3 Coaches with a warder and three Soldiers on the sides of each Coach, and in the rear of the last coach the other Officer with the remaining 18 men, all with bayonets fixd, and a Slow rather than a quick Pace.

When everything was thus disposed, we went together downe stairs to the Coaches. Myne was first, in which went first Lord Kilmarnock being the oldest Earle, I followd and Cap^{tn}. Fletcher enterd last and sat backward, my Lord forward and sat on My right hand. I drove a little from the door and in the 2^d. Coach enterd the

¹ See note "Examination by the Privy Council," Appendix, at p. 250, *in/r/a*.

² Perhaps Captain Fletcher, referred to further on.

³ See note "The Monmouth Tower," Appendix, p. 219, *in/r/a*.

Earle of Cromarty, with the Captⁿ. of the Guard. In the 3^d. Coach was Lord Balmerino with the Gentleman Gaoler, with ax coverd with green Bais, and the handle with read velvet adornd with brass nails and fringe, all at my expence for the honour of it, cost £1. 1. 0.¹

1746
July 28

In the manner mentioned on the other side we marchd about a quarter after seven, through a crowded Lane of Spectators, who did not offer us the leste insult, but seemd all extreamly Loyal in their expressions. Precisely at nine the hour appointed we came to the turning from the new Bridge,² from thence through a double hay³ of Solders standing Shoulder to Shoulder to Westminster hall gate, where my Coach stopt and we got out and orderd the Coach to wheel off to the left hand, to make room for the other two Coaches; when we had all got out we marchd in the following manner into Westminster hall and cells prepared for us.

March of the Lords from the Coaches to y^e Lodges

first marchd the four Warders two and two

Then the Gentleman Gaoler with his ax carryd upright against his shoulder but not on it with the edge from the Prisoners

then I followd single as Lieut^t.

. Then Lord Kilmarnock with the Officer on his Left hand, and his two Warders one on each side

Then Lord Cromarty in the same Manner.

Then Lord Balmerino guarded by his two warders only.

When we came into the Places appointed for us I put each Lord in a Seperat appartment with his Officer, and two Warders, so that I was at Liberty My Self to go to either, or in to the house of Lords as I thought fit. About eleven a Clock the Lords came in their Robes

¹ "When they were to be brought from the Tower in separate coaches there was some dispute in which the axe must go. Old Balmerino cried: 'Come, come, put it with me.' At the bar he plays with his fingers upon the axe while he talks to the Gentleman Goaler, and one day somebody coming up to listen, he took the blade and held it like a fan between their faces." (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 217). The ceremonial axe is here referred to. It is distinct from that used by the executioner, and is kept at the present day in the Resident Governor's house, as it was no doubt in Williamson's time. The handle is still adorned with brass nails. See further as to this axe, p. 28, note (1) *supra*.

² Westminster Bridge, a stone bridge, begun in 1739, and opened in 1750; replaced by the present bridge in 1860 (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*).

³ An extended line of men (*New Eng. Dict.*).

1746
July 28

from their own house to the Judgment hall, after them the Pursuivants and Maces carried before the Lord high Stuard, which was the Chancilar Lord Hardwick, and the ceremony of reading his Patent and other things being over I being at the Bar all the while, but had given notice to the Prisoners to make ready, Proclamation was made for the Lieut. to bring his Prisoners to the Bar, the doors were thrown open, and we all assended the steps to the Court, in one front, I on the Right, the eldest Earle next Me, the next eldest next him, Balmerino on the left, and the Gaoler with his ax next him. As soon as we got to the upper Step I gave the word for Bowing, which we all did slowly together Ax and all, then we advancd three paces and bowd again in the same slow Manner, then we went close up to the Bar and all together bowd over it, and immediatly the three Lords fell on their knees and kept so till the Lord High Steuard told them they might rise, then they bowd again, but the Lieut. and Gaoler did not bow, but continued to stand in our places I on the Right and Fowler the Gaoler on the left with his ax in his hand all the time of Tryal.

When the Tryal of the day was over, we were orderd to take our Prisoners from the Bar which we did with three reverential bows as before, one at the Bar, one in the Midleway and one at the upper step of the stairs, going from the Bar backward, and allwais keeping our faces to the Court; then we downe stairs into our Several rooms, but after that, as we grew hungry I Sufferd the three Lords, and their Sollicitors to come all into one room where the Cloath was Layd, and the table coverd with a cold entertainment of Chickens, lamb, roast veal, dryd Tongues &c. and we refreshed our Selves heartily, and after having receivd the Precept from the Lords to carry back the Prisoners to the Tower, and bring them again on Wednesday the 30th we returnd in the same Manner we came.

N.B. I orderd the Coaches to stay for us to be ready when calld for, but as they were kept in the Pallace Yard from 9 in the Morning til 3 in the afternoon, one of my Coach horses fell ill of a fever and the yellows., so orderd the next day the Coaches and Horses to Set up,¹ and be ready when calld for, which I found the best way, for we had them easily when we wanted them.

July 30th. We went as before at 9 to the Lords, being orderd to be at the Bar, or ready when calld to it, at eleven a clock; this

¹ To set up; to place in repose (*Johnson's Dict.*).

we did in the same order exactly as before, made our bows, when orderd to withdraw dyned heartily, altogether, and returnd in the same manner.¹

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July 30

N.B. The 2 Earles had pleaded guilty the first day, and being now calld to shew cause if they could why Sentence of death should not pass upon them, they spoke their Several Speeches in Mittigation of their crime and to moove the Lords to recommend them to the Kings mercie.

August the 1st. We went from the Tower at 9 in the morning as before and in the same order, the people stil crounding [*sic*] as we passd to see us, when sentence of death passd on all three. Lord Balmerino spoke no speech, but begd of the Lords to recommend him to the King for Mercie. We dyned as before, it was a Short day and we got home at four a clock.²

N.B. The Place where the Prisoners were kept was wholy at my disposal to let in who I please; the door keepers of the Judgment hall opend it as often as I presented my Self and my friends were easily admitted, by which Means I had a good opportunity of obliging Severl in the three days Tryal.

August 3. Lady Cromarty and her 3 daughters allowd by order of the D. of Newcastle to be alone with her Lord from 8 to six in the evening. Orderd by the Constable that none who were admitted to the Prisoners to be sufferd to go out but when I was personally present, which was very trublesome to me but I punctually obeyd it. Lady Cromarty gave her Petition for the Kings Mercy to her Husband, this day at Kensington.

4. She with her 3 daughters came to see him, and were alone with

¹There is a warrant of this date (*Tower Records*, iv, 26) for the Earl of Moray, John Maule, Esq., and Mr. John Walkinsaw, to have access to Lord Balmerino and on August 4 the prisoner writes to the Duke of Newcastle for leave to see alone Charles Hamilton Gordon, Esq., Mr. John Walkinshaw, Mr Malcolm, and Miss Nelly Chalmers, his wife's sister, and requests that Mr. Robert Gordon and the Revd Mr. Humfrys may be permitted to attend him as often as they think fit (*State Papers, Domestic*, August, 1740). See note "John Walkinshaw," Appendix, p. 227, *infra*.

²"Old Balmerino keeps up his spirits to the same pitch of gaiety. In the cell at Westminster he showed Lord Kilmarnock how he must lay his head—bid him not wince lest the stroke should cut his skull or his shoulders, and advised him to bite his lips. As they were to return he begged they might have another bottle together as they should never meet any more till — and then pointed to his neck. At getting into the coach he said to the gaoler: 'Take care or you will break my shins with this damned axe.'" (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed., 1903, ii, 225).

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Aug. 4

him in great hopes of his Majestys Pardon, who receivd her Petition as she thought, very gratisiously, and look'd back at her in so much that she sayd all the people at Court, gave her their Sentiments that things look'd Well.¹

Duke Hamilton² was permitted by order to be alone with Lord Kilmarnock; none was admitted, not even their Solicitors, without new orders.³

Aust ye 9th.

Lord Trquear⁴ was committed Prisoner to Safe and Close custody for high Treason. I lodged and dieted him in the book case room⁵ and the two beyond it, for vii Guineas & week, wine, Tea, and Warders pay excluded. Mr. Radclif⁶ quitted the rooms for them.

11. Receivd from Mr. Sharp the Solicitor of the Treasury two orders with the Seal in yellow Wax inclosing them for the delivering the Bodys of the Earle of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino to the Sheriffs of London and Midx at the usual place, for execution on Monday next the 18th inst. between the hours of nine in the morning and one in the afternoon.⁷

¹ See note " Earl of Cromarty," Appendix, p. 207, *infra*.

² James, sixth Duke of Hamilton (1724-1758); succeeded to the title in 1743. Apparently he had given more support to the Pretender than the Government were aware of, or, at any rate, could sufficiently prove. Murray of Broughton says that the Duke subscribed £1,500 towards the expedition of 1745. (Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, xii., 118-124, 137-8).

³ There is a warrant of August 14 for the clerk to Mr Ross, the solicitor, to be alone with Lord Kilmarnock at seasonable hours (*Tower Records*, iv, 17).

⁴ See note " Earl of Traquair," Appendix, p. 229, *infra*.

⁵ This room is included in the list given in the Introduction (p. 13). As the description "one pair of stairs" or "two pair of stairs" does not apply to the Book-case room it would appear to have been on the ground floor.

⁶ Charles Radclyffe; see Appendix, p. 192, *infra*.

⁷ "The seal in yellow wax": The Secretary of State's Warrant Book (P.R.O., No. 370) shows that a sign manual warrant was addressed to the Lord Chancellor for the issue of a writ under the Great Seal authorizing the delivery of the bodies to the Sheriffs for execution.

As to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, see p. 133, note (4). The Court before which a prisoner was tried, had power to fix the place of execution. (See note "Sheriffs of London and Middlesex and Layer's execution," Appendix, p. 176, *infra*). In the present instance the scaffold was erected in the usual place on Tower Hill within the City boundary, at a spot now marked by a stone in the garden of Trinity Square. The scaffold was raised about 9 feet from the ground; see an *Account by an Eye-Witness, Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., ii, 41. The place of execution on the Parade within the Tower walls was reserved for royal personages. See further, note (2) *infra*.

Aug. 15. Lord Lovat was committed to Safe and close custody for High Treason and put into Lord Lucases Room in my house.¹ 1746 Aug. 15

17. The Sheriffs Deputy's came to me to settle the time for delivering the Lord Kilmarnock and Balmerino to the Sheriffs to Morrow, and we set our Watches, and agreed to deliver them to em precisely at ten a clock in the morning.

18th. The Lords beheaded.

The Stage, Rooms of the house and the stairs Leading to the scaffold,² being coverd with black, all prepared at the Expence of the Sheriffs, they came at 10 a clock precisely and knockt at the Outward Gate,³ which with all the others were kept close shut, and demanded the Prisoners. I had appointed the Major to be there to attend their call and the Lords to be ready to go at the shortest Notice, and went to them to wait for the Majors summons from the gate, which came exactly at the hour appointed. We immediatly set out from their appartments, and I had the doors Lockt after them and the Keys given to Me, that if any Valluable thing was left in them I might secure it as My Perquisite.⁴ When we came into the Street we went on foot in the following Manner.

First went their four Warders two and two, then I followed singley, after Me followd Lord Kilmarnock the Prisoner with the Major, then followd the Chaplins and two friends then Lord Balmerino attended by the Gentleman Gaoler after him two friends but no Chaplin, his nojuring Chaplin having taken leave of him the night before, then followd an Officer and fifteen men, after them the two Herses, with the Coffins for the two Lords, then a Sergent with fifteen men more, all with their Bayonets fixd; thus we marchd to the Gate which being opened we deliverd the Lords there to the Sheriffs, who conducted them in the same order on foot to the house of the Scaffold.⁵ I stayd in the Tower, but orderd the Officer who

¹ See note "Simon, Lord Lovat," Appendix, p. 233, *infra*.

² The scaffold was erected opposite a house then or formerly known as the Transport Office at the corner of Catherine Court, Tower Hill, afterwards No. 14 Trinity Square. (See note (7) *supra*.) It is said that Lord Derwentwater, in 1716, was the first prisoner to be taken to the Transport Office instead of direct to the scaffold (Davey, *Tower of London*, 329).

³ The Bulwark or Lion Gate.

⁴ See entry, August 21, 1738.

⁵ In his *History of the Tower* (ii, 121), Lord Ronald Gower, purporting to quote the *Gentleman's Magazine*, makes the Constable of the Tower head the procession to the scaffold. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, however (xvi, 391), speaks of the Constable of the Tower Hamlets, a less exalted official. The "house of the scaffold" was the house formerly known as the Transport Office (See note (2) *supra*).

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Aug. 18

attended the Prisoners and their Herses, as soon as they arived at the Scaffold to Let the Undertaker, who was Allingham of the Tower, take the Coffins out of the Herses and lay them together on the Stage or Scaffold, and after the execution was over to lay the bodys in the Coffins, then to put them in the Herses, and he with his Guard to take care to conduct them back to the Tower in order for their immediat interment in the Tower Chapple which he did, and they were interd the same day together, just by the Marquis of Tullibarden in the west end of the Chapple.¹ By the Lords direction the block was desired to be two feet high, and a piece of red Bais to be had in which to catch their heads and not to let them fall into the Sawdust and filth of the Stage, which was done, and the Earle of Kilmarnock had his head sever'd from the Body at one Stroke all but a little skin which with a little chopp was soon seperated. He had orderd one of his Warders to attend him as his Vallet de Chambre, and to keep down the body from strugling or violent Convulsive Motion, but it only flounched backward on the Seperation of the head and lay on its back, with very little Motion. Lord Balmerinos Fate was otherwais, for tho' he was a resolute Jacobite and seemd to have more than ordinary Courage, and indifference for death, yet when he layd his head on the block it is sayd by those on the Scaffold, that when he made his own Signal for decollation, he withdrew his body, so that he had three cuts with the Ax, before his head was severd, and that the by Standers were forc'd to hold his body and head to the block while the Seperation was making. After all was over and I had dined, I sent my Servants with the Keys to open their Prisons, and bring all their effects to me as of right I aught, they belonging to My office as Commanding Officer on the Spot, but being little worth and no plate or things of dignity I gave them all to the Warders that attended them, and they took them as My Gift with thanks. On this occasion of the Decollation the Gentleman Gaoler came to Me to beg, I would give Leave for the building Shedd's or Scaffolding from which to see the Lords beheaded, I consented provided he took it as a favour from Me and not as a right in him to do it, which he accepted, and made a good hand² of

¹ St. Peter ad Vincula. Lord de Ros (*Memorials of the Tower*, 31) says that the coffin plates of Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino and Lovat were discovered in making excavations for the foundation of the barracks after the fire of 1841. A number of coffins and a quantity of bones were removed into the vaults on the north side of the chapel. The three coffin plates are now fixed to the wall of the chapel.

² A good profit; see *New Eng. Dict.* sub "hand," 45.

it and gave my Servants a Guinea for each Scaffold, in all five. 1746
 It was observd by those of the Scaffold, that Lord Kilmarnocks head being at one stroke seperated from the Body, all but a little flesh and skin, the body at the Stroke Sprung backwards from the block and lay flatt on its back dead and extended, with its head fastned only by that little hold which the Executioner chopt off or seperated on the Scaffold So that it is probable when ever the head is severd from the Body at one Stroke, it will allwais give that convulsive bounce or spring.

N.B. The block was at the desire of the Prisoners made two feet high, and I desired a good Stiff upright post to be put just under it. I had orderd the day before, no Port liberty¹ for the Soldiers til the Execution was over and the gates to be kept shutt, and during the Execution the whole Garison to be under Arms. I gave leave to some Officers of the Ordnance to erect scaffolds for them Selves and Familys on the opposit Bastion to the Scaffold,² which they took as a favour.

Augt. 26. Copy's of Indictments were deliverd by Mr. Sharp the Solicitor of the Treasury to Lord McCleud, Lord Cromarty's son, and Mr. Murra, Lord Dunmores Brother, in order for their being tryd at the Court house in Southwark for high treason.³

Augt. 27. The Duke of Newcastle's order for the Countess of Traquair⁴ to be admitted to her Lord provided She remaind a close Prisoner with him. She came the 29th. inst. and was so confined in my house.

8^{br}. 8. Lady Cromarty and her daughters with her Lord and Son were Lodgd in the Warders house I hired.⁵

8^{br}. ye 21. I gave in my Bill for carrying the three Lords to their tryals at Westminster Hall, to the Duke of Newcastle Secretary of State, in which I chargd 40^s. for carrying each of the three Lords, and 40^s. for each of their dinners at the Several days of My carrying them, in which I layd for their dinner, wine Chocolate Coffe tea &c. and it was payd Me by the Dukes Order to Mr. Sharp Sollicitor of the Treasury.

¹ Cf. entry, March 14, 1733-4.

² No doubt, Legge's Mount (*see* Frontispiece).

³ Lord McLeod. *See* Appendix, p. 222, *infra*. "Mr. Murra," William Murray of Taymount. *See* Appendix, p. 224, *infra*. The trial was in Surrey pursuant to the Act 19 George II c. 9.

⁴ Countess of Traquair. *See* entry, August 9, 1746.

⁵ Lord Cromarty had previously been lodged in the Bloody Tower. *See* entry, May 29, 1746.

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Oct. 30

8^{br.} y^e 30 This being the Kings Birthday and he being indispos'd with the Piles or a Fistalous dissorder for which he had been cut, and not finding himself easy enough to come from Kensington to the Drawing rooms at St. Jameses where the Solemnity of his Birth was usualy kept, an order came to the Tower from the Duke of Newcastle not to fire our Guns, til his Majesty appointed an other day for the Celebration of it.

N.B. our Guns were all chargd ready, and the Flag out, and on that day Fortnight his Majestys birth day was cellebrated at St. Jameses as usual.

9^{br.} 11. Lord Troquair,¹ Sr John Douglass,² and Mr Murra the Pretenders Secretary³ was carryed at 7 a clock in the evening to examination at the Cockpit,⁴ where were the L^d. Chanc^r, Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Henry Pelham, they were caried seperatly by order so that none knew the others were brought. I had an Officer of the Guards went in the Coach with each and they were carried into Different appartments, they stayd there til near 2 in the morning.⁵

9br. y^e 12. Doct^r. Barry⁶ Committed for high Treason.

9br. 21. Mr. Charles Radclif was by order of the Kings bench brought to that Bar, to proove the Identity of his being the man who wast araignd, tryd, and Condemnd for high Treason in the Rebellion against King George the first of happy Memory.

He pleaded he was not the man, that he was not Charles Ratclif Mentiond in the Indictment, but was Earle of Derwentwater, that he was not a Subject of the King of England, but of France, and had ready to produce his commission as Lt. Col^l. in the French Kings Service, which he desired might be read, but of that the Court took no notice, and put off the tryal to the 24th. inst.⁷

24. He was carried up again to the bar by a new precept at 10 in the morning, where a jury was Struck, to one of which he objected without Showing cause, but it not being a tryal for his high Treason, but only the Identity of person, the Court would not allow him to Challenge any one of them and so they were Sworen, and the Court

¹ Earl of Traquair. See Appendix, p. 229, *infra*.

² See note "Sir John Douglas of Kilhead," Appendix, p. 247, *infra*.

³ John Murray of Broughton; see Appendix, p. 225, *infra*.

⁴ "Cockpit"; see p. 39, note (4).

⁵ See note "Examination by the Privy Council," Appendix, p. 247, *infra*.

⁶ See note "Dr Barry," Appendix, p. 251, *infra*.

⁷ See note "Charles Radclyffe and James Radclyffe," Appendix, p. 192, *infra*.

proceded instanter to tryal, tho he by his Council as well as in his owne ill mannerd rude Way, prayd for time to call over from Bruxels two witnesses to proove (as he aleged) that he was not the man, which the Court would not Consent to unless he would Swair he was not the person¹ that had been formerly indicted, which he not Complying with, the Court proceeded immediate to tryal, and it appearing to the Jury that he was the Same man they in less than a quarter of an hour, brought him in to be the Identical person, on which he was ordered to be executed that day fortnight being Monday X^{ber}. the 8th. and to be carryd back to the Tower and Lodgd him for the Greater Safety in the Duke of Monmouths Tower from whence he poor man was beheaded.²

His Guard going and Coming, was 4 warders one Officer 32 men 2 Sergts. 2 Corporals 2 Drums but marchd Silent. I had in My Chariot an officer and in the Coach with him, an officer of the Guards, and the Gaoler.

Xbr. 6.³ An order from the Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench came to me for delivering the Body of Charles Radclif to the Sherrifs of Midx.⁴ for execution on the 8th. inst^t. and soon after the Sub Sherrifs came to Me to regulate the time of delivery and other things necessary for it.

8th. The Prisoner was ordered to be ready by 10 a clock this morning. At eleven the Sherriffs came to the Irongate at the E end of the Wharf,⁵ and demanded Mr. Radclif that being Midx. and as he was tryd by a Midx. Jury the Scaffold was erected and a Little booth near it on little Tower hill that being in the County. I had a Coach ready for him, opposit the Draw bridg on the Wharf and My owne Coach Just before it, as Soon as the Sheriff calld for him I sent to bring him Downe⁶ and he with the Major and the Gaoler went into

¹ See note "Charles Radclyffe and James Radclyffe," Appendix, p. 195, *infra*.

² "He, poor man," i.e., the Duke of Monmouth. As to the Monmouth Tower, see further, Appendix, p. 219, *infra*.

³ See note "Flora Macdonald," Appendix, p. 252, *infra*.

⁴ Strictly, this should be "Sheriff of Middlesex." The two Sheriffs of the City of London jointly constituted the Sheriff of Middlesex until the passing of the Local Government Act, 1888. (See Pulling, *Laws and Customs of London*, 134-6; Wilmot, *Opinions and Judgements*, 131; Manning and Granger's *Reports*; 1, 544, note.)

⁵ Compare p. 88, note (2). In the account of the execution in the state trials (*Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 439), it is said that the Under-Sheriffs went down to the east gate of the Tower "which is next to Iron Gate."

⁶ Down from the Monmouth Tower, from which, if it is identical with the

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Dec. 8

his Coach and I into myne and drove just before him along the Wharf to the Gate, attended by an Officer and 60 men, with his two warders one on each Side of his Coach. Here the Gate being opened by two Warders I had posted there, the under Sherrifs desired by order of the Sherrifs that I would drive on and deliver the Prisoner to them on the Hill, which I did, between two ranks of Soldiers sent from the other end of the Towne, and near the Scaffold deliverd Mr. Radclif to the Sherrifs and they on the Spot Signed a receipt on the back of the L^d. Chief Justices order for delivering him to them. When this was done I orderd the Major and Gaoler to returne immediatly to their duty in the Tower, as I did My Self, determining never to See the blood of a Prisoner Shed before me.¹

What was found in his room being of little Worth I gave to his 2 Warders. On his going out of his Prison I orderd his door should be lockd and the key given or kept carefully for me.² He dyed very quietly and with great decencie made no harang to the People nor did he Leave any Speech that I heard of behind him.³ His body was carryd a way in a handsom Coffin put into a Herse by his friends and interd privatly in St. Giles.

N.B. the boards of the Scaffold I preservd by a guard of Soldiers.

Xbr. 11. Lord Lovat was impeach'd by the House of Commons for High Treason.

18. He was by order of the House of Lords carryed to their Barr, where 7 Artickles of High Treason were read to him, to which he was orderd to give in his answer the 13th. of next Month, and to have his Witnesses then ready. He was by order soon after carryd back to the Tower, and was allowd 4 Counsil and 3 Sollicitors. I had a guard of an Officer and 36 men three on each side of his Coach, and a warder at each door, half the rest went before the other behind the Coach. Notwithstanding, the hatred of the Mobb was So great to him, that they broke both Windows of My Coach in whiche was, and I with him, and threw in Stones and dirt upon us, but did us no harm.⁴

Byward Tower, the Drawbridge stretched across to the Wharf (*see* Appendix, p. 220, *infra*).

¹ Williamson's duty was over as soon as he had delivered the prisoner to the sheriffs and there was no need for him to be present at the execution. In the case of the Highland deserters shot within the Tower (*see* entry, July 17, 1743), Williamson was responsible for carrying out the sentence.

² *See* entry, August 21, 1738.

³ *See* note "Charles Radclyffe and James Radclyffe," Appendix, pp. 197, 198, *infra*.

⁴ Perhaps it was on this occasion that a woman looked into the coach and

20. We Carry'd in Seperat Coaches, Lord Macleud and Mr. Wm. Murra L^d. Dunmores Brother, to their Tryal at St. Margarits hill Southwark, where they both pleaded guilty. I deliverd them to the Sheriff of Surry and took his receipt on the Back of the Chief Justice of the Kings bench [sic] for them but by order of the Duke of Newcastle Secretary of State they were both brought back that night to the Tower.¹ 1746 Dec. 20

1746 Xbr. 23.

During the time of the late rebellion in 1745 the following Stores of provisions were Layd in for the use of 2000 men for two months Vz^t.

2 months provision for 2000 men

	Tuns	Hog ^d	Packs
Bread 100 Bags	83	0	0
Brandy 700 Gallons	30	0	0
Beef 16000 pounds	35	0	0
Pork 16000 Pounds	16	0	0
Oatml. 750 Bush ^{ls} .	25	0	0
Peas 500 Bush ^{ls} .	16	0	0
Butter 6000 pd.	7	0	0
Cheshire Chees 8000£.	7	0	0
Vinegar 1000 Gallons	4	0	0
Total of Casks	135	0	0
Baggs	83	0	0
tuns in all	219		

N.B. after these Provisions were Layd in to a Store room the ordnance had cleard for them, they made a partition at the expence of the Victualing office So as to keep the Stores under their owne locks, and when the rebellion was quite Subdued, they carryd all away again.

said: " You ugly old dog, don't you think you will have that frightful head cut off?" to which Lovat replied: " You ugly old b—— I believe I shall." (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed., 1903, ii, 266).

¹ As to Lord McLeod, see Appendix, p. 222, *infra*; as to William Murray, see *ibid.* p. 224, *infra*. The words " warrant of the " are apparently omitted after " back of the ".

1746-7 174⁶ March 18th.

Mar. 18 Lord Lovat was found Guilty of the Treason he was impeachd of by the Commons, and

19. the nineteenth the Lord High Steuard, vzt. Lord Chancellor York,¹ pronoun'd Sentence of death on him.

1747 April 3^d.

The order came for delivering him to the sheriffs of London and Midx for execution, on Thursday the 9th. inst. between the hours of nine and one.²

¹ Lord Hardwicke.

² See note "Simon, Lord Lovat," Appendix, p. 233, *infra*.

APPENDIX

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BISHOP ATTERBURY

(Page 25, note (2) *supra*).

Francis Atterbury (1663-1732), Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason by warrant dated August 24, 1722, "to be kept safe and close" but his valet and footman were allowed to be with him (*Tower Records* iii, 142). Atterbury was at the head of a conspiracy to place the Pretender on the throne, though perhaps not directly connected with Layer's plot (see p. 162, *infra*). Layer proposed to raise an insurrection in England independently of foreign assistance, a project of which the Bishop disapproved. An essential element in the Bishop's plan was the arrival of troops from abroad under the Duke of Ormond. Walpole took the chief part in unravelling the plot (*Hist. MSS. Com.*) 14th Rep., Part ix, 462) which was laid bare by an elaborate report of a Committee of the House of Commons in March, 1722-3 (*Commons Reports*, 1715-1735; *Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 325). The Report is wittily parodied by Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* (Scott's edition, *Voyage to Laputa*, chap. vi). Doran, quoting the *Weekly Journal* and the *Post Boy*, says that upon his arrest the Bishop was taken before a Committee of Council and thence to the Tower accompanied by a messenger and "Colonel Williamson of the Guards" (*London in the Jacobite Times*, i, 370). The writer of this Diary belonged to the 3rd Foot Guards (see p. 25, *supra*), and it was he, no doubt, who formed part of the Bishop's escort. Williamson seems to have been selected for the appointment of Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower especially to take charge of the Bishop and the other Jacobite conspirators (*ibid.*).

From the following letter (*State Papers, Domestic, George I* Bundle 35), it appears that Williamson personally arrested the Bishop and seized his papers.

Major Whyte to Lord Townshend. Tower, Aug. 27, 1722.—"I am desir'd by my Lord Bishop of Rochester to write to your Lordship on the following account.

" He says, that among the papers seiz'd on, tis probable there are several belonging to the Church of Westminster, some of which should they be lost or mislaid, the Church would suffer damage.

" There were also bonds for money in his ' Scrutore ' which he knows not whether the messenger took with him, but is sure that the Collonel took out of his Lordships Table book, money notes, one of which was for a very considerable sum (very considerable to him he means) and was as he remembers in the hand of and signed by Mr. Low, the Chapter Clerk, and was some of the money given for the building the Dormitory. This his Lordship desired the Colonel to return him (with the two bank notes which he did return) but he would not.

" He hopes your Lordship will give orders to Mr. Delafaye or to whoever has the perusal of those papers, that they may be preserved with care, and that the money notes & bonds (if any bonds were taken) may if your Lordship pleases be returned.

" His Lordship would not so soon have troubled you on this head, but that he hears your Lordship is to set out with the King tomorrow, & knows not but this matter may be transacted with more negligence in your absence than it would otherwise have been.

" The Bishop also desires to know, whether if his health will permit, he may be allowed to go to the Tower Church at the usual times of Divine Service."

On September 11, Pope, who was a friend of the Bishop's, writes: " Even pigeon pies and hogs puddings are thought dangerous by our governors, for those that have been sent to the Bishop of Rochester are opened and profanely pried into at the Tower. It is the first time that dead pigeons have been suspected of carrying intelligence." (Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, i, 370-1).

Canon Beeching says that according to Hearne, Williamson refused leave to the Chaplain to read prayers and administer the Sacrament to the Bishop on September 16, 1722 (*Francis Atterbury*, 285, note). Hearne, however, does not refer to Williamson but to the " Commanding Officer at the Tower," who, at this time, was General Compton, the Lieutenant (Hearne, *Collections*, vii, 398). Williamson was not appointed Deputy-Lieutenant until October 29. The incident is referred to in the following letter (*State Papers, Domestic, Geo. I, Bundle 36*):

Bishop Atterbury to Lord Townshend. Tower, Sept. 6, 1722.—"I

have been now near a fortnight here under a general commitment for high treason and the closest confinement, and I have been half that time very ill of the gout and should have prayed your Lordship that my physician should have come to me had I not been discourag'd by the treatment I received from the Lieutenant when I desired that the Chaplain of the Tower might give me the Sacrament in private on the first Sunday in the month which he flatly refused, without letting me know whether he had any orders for such a refusal. I daresay he had none.

" Your Lordship is too just & good to deny me the assistance of the Tower Chaplain in divine offices, after, upon my humble request, it was not thought fit to allow me the use of my own. And yet the Lieutenant seems to have mistaken so far, as to think that he merited by so unreasonable a proceeding; never I am told used before towards any, even the meanest prisoner. But he has since been pleased to indulge me in that request, and therefore I trouble your Lordship no further concerning it.

" My present humble motion to your Lordship is that I may be permitted to speak with my two children which have been hitherto kept at a distance from me. My son goes next week to settle at Christchurch, & I am very desirous of seeing him before he goes, and giving him such advice & directions as may be proper on that occasion; and if your Lordship would permit, should be glad to write by him to the (Head of the House there) Bishop of Bristol, and to his tutor.

" My daughter lives in Town, and has been always very dear to me, and particularly so since the death of her Mother, which happened about four months ago. If she might have leave to visit me sometimes, under my present ill state of health & melancholy confinement it would be a great charity done me, for which I should be extremely thankful.

" I have another humble request to your Lordship, when my papers have been thoroughly inspected (as I suppose they have already been), & such of them taken out as your Lordship's officers shall think proper to reserve, the rest may be sealed up, & restored to me; or if you please, lodged in the hands of one of my servants either at the Deanery or Bromley, for there may be among them several that are of some consequence, with relation either to my own private affairs, or to those of the Church of Westminster and my Diocese."

On September 7 the bishop was brought to the Old Bailey upon an application that he might be bailed or brought to trial notwithstanding

standing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was held that the Judges of the Commission to deliver the gaol of Newgate could not bail prisoners in the Tower. The reporter adds: "The Tower is generally esteemed to be for State prisoners where lords and great men are committed for their greater ease though the fact was committed in another county; else they must go into nasty county gaols where there are no proper accommodations" (*Fortescue's Reports*, 101). The application was renewed in the King's Bench in Michaelmas Term, but with no better success (*8 Modern Reports*, 96).

On September 21 the Bishop complains to the Secretary of State (*State Papers, Domestic*, Geo. I, Bundle 36):

Bishop Atterbury to Lord Townshend. Tower, Sept. 21, 1722.—"Tis now a month since I was examined and committed to this place, and a fortnight since your Lordship did me the honour of a letter, wherein you were pleased in return to an humble request by me made, to assure me, that my papers should be sealed up & delivered to one of my servants. I question not but your Lordship gave orders accordingly; however I do not find that they have been obeyed. And even that open paper I sent (through General Compton's hands) directing the delivery of some books & rolls of the Church of Westminster in my custody to the proper officer, did not reach the Chapter Clerk's hands in a fortnight, I mean the copy of it, for the original itself is it seems detained in your Lordship's office.

"My Lord I repeat my humble request that my private & other papers of no consequence to the public, may be sealed up & delivered to one of my servants, & I hope to succeed in this request, on account, not only of its reasonableness, but of the Indulgence shewed to my predecessor Bishop Sprat 30 years ago, upon a like occasion.

"For I find his letters & papers were returned to him by the Earl of Nottingham then Secretary of State, the very next day after he was apprehended, & while he was in custody at his own Deanery."

On October 17 the Bishop's arrest and detention were reported to the House of Lords under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act and the House passed a resolution for his detention (*Lords Journals*, xxii, 22).

On December 28 there was a personal scuffle between the Bishop and Williamson not referred to in the Diary. It is related by Dr

Stratford as follows (*Hist. MSS. Com., Portland MSS.*, vii, 344): " You have heard no doubt too of the battle between the Bishop of Rochester and Williamson. Reports are very various. Williamson has made an affidavit that the Bishop collared him struck him and threw him down. A pretty odd affidavit for a great officer to make—that he was beaten by a gouty bishop. The story of the Bishop is very different. Williamson and White, the Major of the Tower, came to visit him; the Bishop ordered both his servants to stay in the room. Williamson said upon that he would have two warders up. The Bishop said, and surely with reason, that there could be no occasion for warders when superior officers were there and when he was not conversing with suspected persons. Williamson ordered one of the Bishop's servants to call up warders. The Bishop bid his servant not to stir. Williamson then desired the Bishop to dismiss one of his servants that they might be two and two. The Bishop gratified him in that. Williamson after that insisted still to have one warden and bid the servant call him. The Bishop said he should have no warden and bid the servant not to stir. Williamson then said he would call one himself. The Bishop was nearest to the door and got thither first and set his back to it. Williamson in coming round the bed entangled his foot in a little chair at the bottom of the bed and was thrown down flat on his back. The Bishop protests he did not [throw him down]. I cannot see anything else he did which could be on any account improper."

The following letters from the State Papers (*Domestic, Geo. I, B. 37*), throw further light on this occurrence:

Bishop Atterbury to Lord Harcourt.—This letter is dated from the Tower, December 27, the day before the scuffle with Williamson, and shows the strained relations between him and the Bishop. After complaining that Williamson had refused to supply the Bishop with a copy of a warrant authorizing an interview with the Sub-Dean and Chapter Clerk of Westminster, the letter continues:

" But this is a trifle in comparison of the many instances of indignity, with which that gentleman [Colonel Williamson] has treated me, since he came to his new Government. Me, I say, by way of distinction as if he thought any particular ill-usuage he gave me, would be welcome elsewhere, & a sure step towards recommending him. For I speak not of any part of his management which relates to all the prisoners in common.

" Thus much I shall say now (& shall prove what I say by many

signal instances, upon a proper occasion) that, whenever his conduct here is duly examined, he will appear to have acted with such rashness & violence & absurd insolence as the Ministry if duly appriz'd of it would I persuade myself, for the honour of the Government, & for the sake even of common humanity not only discourage, but detest.

" He has now sequestred me from all human conversation, but that of my own servants, confined with me, and some Tower officers who have a right, when they please, to visit me, and he has endeavoured to frighten even them from coming near me. I have no refuge or way of spending my time, but in books, & the time I must spend in them is lost without the free use of pen and ink, which I apprehend he will (as soon as he thinks of it), unless forbidden, himself absolutely forbid me, and deprive me by that means even of the possibility of complaining. And after that, he may if he pleases, by the help of some trusty Warder, take effectual care of me—especially if he can get me out of the harmless hands with whom I am now lodged, into his own, which he has had in his view ever since he came to this place, and has not been shy of owning to me that he is setting up an apartment in his own house for me.

" These things, my Lord, I say very seriously that you may represent them to my Lord Townshend, and to all the Lords of the Committee of Council, if you think fitting ; and procure me an opportunity of explaining the particulars & stopping the course of this man's unworthy behaviour towards me—the clear knowledge of which will, if I live, (or if I do not) find its way in time, even through the bars of a prison.

" I wish your Lordship many happy new years and am with great respect " &c.

[Postscript] " I mention pen & ink as the only comfort I am now capable of, in this state of absolute solitude, and which, for that very reason, had the Colonel any relish of these things, I am sure he would deprive me of. It signifies nothing that I was not restrained in this respect by the original warrant of committment, and ought much less to be so, after 19 weeks confinement ; for he values not warrants, adds what new restrictions he thinks fit to them, and puts what interpretations he pleases upon them.

" Nor can he pretend that I am capable of misusing pen and ink, since it is impossible for me to write a line to any man living without its passing through the hands of his Warders.

" I beg some answer in writing, before your Lordship goes into the country."

Williamson to Lord Carteret (?). Tower, Dec. 28, 1722.—“Mr. Morrice, the Bishop of Rochester’s son-in-law, having talked with the Bishop at a low window this evening face to face, I went to see that window, and found it so situated as they might shake hands together; on this I took the Major with me up to the Bishop to talk to him about it, as likewise about his abusing the warder in the manner he did, which your Lordship will be pleased to see expressed in the Warders own Deposition here annexed. At our first entrance he ordered his two servants to continue in the room, and not to stirr, which I perceived was in order to be witnesses of what passed between us. On this I say’d, My Lord, if your servants are to be kept as witnesses, I will have both the Warders called up, that they may likewise hear what pass’d betwixt us, so desired one of the Bishops servants to call ‘em. The Bishop hastily got up and reply’d, the Warders shall not be brought up to his room. I say’d, My Lord, they shall come up if your servants stay here, and was then going to call ‘em myself, when the Bishop seized on me, & to my great surprise laid hold of me, & threw me on the bed, & said the Warders should not be called in. I got up & asked him why he laid violent hands on me, I laid none on him, the Major at the same time endeavoured to pacifie him by saying, My Lord! pray My Lord! be easy, or to that purpose, after this, I proposed that if the Bishop would keep only one servant in the room, Major White and that servant might be equal witnesses to what might be said between us (or else the Warders should be called up) and to this he agreed, and so we began to talk about the affairs above mentioned, as to the liberty of the low window, he told me he had My Lord Carlisle’s leave for it, I reply’d, then I am sorry I mentioned it to you, had I known you had his leave, I would not have done it, for his Lordship’s orders were always the rule we went by, or to that purpose; then I proceeded and asked him very mildly why he abused the warder that had attended Doctor Friend when he visited him, by calling him several times impertinent fellow, & bidding him go out of the room, I told him they were officers doing their duty on him & that the Warder so abused had my orders for being in the room when the Doctor was there. I do not very well remember what answer he made me; I think it was that I had given leave that the Doctor should visit him alone, I told him I had not, but had given out quite contrary orders, to this he got up and said—Sir, I shall find a time when I shall be even with you, I rose, & told him I was doing my duty like an honest man, and that I did not fear what he could do to me as long

APPENDIX

as we enjoyed the happiness of a protestant reign—these were the last words I say'd to him, except that I bid him goodnight and left him.

“ My Lord, if I know anything of duty, honour or honesty, after a long service in the warrs of Flanders, I am using all for his Majesty's service, and in discharge of the trust reposed in me, & I hope my Lord, I shall never suffer from the rancour of a man, who is no otherwaies exasperated than by my doing honestly my duty.”

Lord Carteret to Bishop Atterbury. Whitehall, Dec. 31, 1722.—“ Your Lordships letter to the Viscount Harcourt of the 27th instant, having been laid before the King, and his Majesty's observing the accusation contained in the said letter against Colonel Williamson to be in general, and that your Lordship desires an opportunity to explain the particulars, I am commanded by his Majesty to desire your Lordship to specify in writing those particulars in which you think yourself aggrieved by the said Colonel.

“ I send Mr. Stanyan to wait upon you with this letter, and he will attend your Lordship again on such day as you shall appoint to receive your Lordship's answer.”

Bishop Atterbury to Lord Carteret. Tower, Jan. 2, 1722-3.—“ As I was preparing last night to obey the directions your Lordship sent me, by explaining the particulars of the complaint I had made to my Lord Harcourt, in relation to Colonel Williamson I received a message from the Colonel by one of my Warders, forbidding me for the future to come down to the window where I have hitherto (tho' not without a good deal of inconvenience as Mr. Stanyan knows) seen & discours'd my son and daughter from which satisfaction (almost the only one left me) I am now excluded, & forc'd to see them, & every body, from a window in an upper room, at an 100 feet distance, whereas the other prisoners can discourse their visitants with all manner of ease & convenience.

“ My Lord, the Colonel, I have reason to believe, was not unappris'd of your Lordship's writing to me, and of the general purport of your letter and for that reason, I suppose, chose at this juncture, to send me these new commands.

“ If therefore, even while he knows my complaint is depending, and that a Secretary of State has written to me upon it, he shall be allowed to lay a new & singular hardship upon me, I see not to what purpose it will be for me to trouble your Lordship with any farther

accounts of these things, but believe it will become me rather to ly quiet under his injuryes, than subject myself to yet more (if possible) without the least prospect of relief.

" I shall however proceed (as my health permits) to finish what I have begun, and if I find this new step of his receives any real discountenance, shall venture to lay the whole before your Lordship afterwards.

" But in order to [do] it, desire your Lordships permission in writing for the free use of Pen & Ink without the presence of Officers and warders.

" I mentioned this in my letter to Lord Harcourt my apprehensions of what the Colonel would do in that case (which are not altered) and my reasons why it was impossible for me to misuse such a privilege, and why therefore it would seem extremely hard in my circumstances, not to allow it to me. I now mention it again and wait for your Lordships & my Lord Townshends resolution upon it."

Lord Carteret to Bishop Atterbury. Whitehall, Jan. 3, 1722-3.— " Your son-in-law Mr. Morris attended me this morning to desire in Your Lordship's name that Mr. Stanyan might be again sent to you. I complied immediately with your Lordships desire, supposing that your Lordship meant by sending for him, to transmit by him the particulars of that general accusation which you made against Colonel Williamson in your letter to the Lord Viscount Harcourt. After your son, Mr. Morris, had taken leave of me, I took the liberty to recall him upon receiving your Lordship's letter of yesterday's date, & told him that I had just then received a letter from your Lordship, in which you mentioned nothing of your desire to see Mr. Stanyan. Mr. Morris answered that he supposed the directions he had received from your Lordship to apply to me, as he did, were subsequent to the said letter, and still requested, that I would send Mr. Stanyan. I laid your Lordships letter before the King, His Majesty approves the orders which Colonel Williamson gave for preventing your Lordship's discoursing your son and daughter at the lower window, nor could Colonel Williamson justify himself if he did otherwise, for it would be either great negligence in him, or else wilfully acting contrary to the tenor of the warrant, by which your Lordship was committed to the Tower, for High Treason, to which warrant it is the duty of Col. Williamson to shew strict obedience; I am sorry there should be occasion for your Lordship to complain that you are treated differently from the other prisoners of

your Rank, who can discourse as your Lordship is pleased to express it, their visitants with all manner of ease & conveniency. If your Lordship is rightly inform'd, the officers of the Tower, who permit such proceedings, are guilty of a breach of their duty. The King has commanded me to enquire strictly into that matter. Your Lordship mentions that you lye under injuries by the conduct of Colonel Williamson, & yet you are not pleased to specify any. The instance that you give can never be interpreted as an injury, because it is in consequence of his duty which I hope he executes with good manners suitable to your Lordships character, and also to his own, as a good officer. The King will protect his servants in the proper & just exercise of their trust, but will suffer them not to injure anyone. Till your Lordship specifies facts against Colonel Williamson of a different nature from this last, which you mentioned, His Majesty will continue to think that the said Colonel acts agreeably to the duty of the post, with which his Majesty has been pleased to entrust him."

Williamson to Lord Carteret. Tower, Jan. 9, 1722-3.—“ I take the liberty to acquaint your Lordship that I sent for Major White, and drew up from his own remembrance and words, what passed between the Bishop of Rochester & me on Friday the 28th of last month; his account your Lordship will see differs little from what I had the honour to lay before you tho' I think he endeavoured all he could to palliate the Bishop's wild conduct & behaviour to me, after I had writ down the whole of what he say'd he remembered, I desired him to sign it, but he refused to do it, I told him I had your Lordships orders to get his hand to attest the transactions between the Bishop and me, but it availed nothing, he sayd, if your Lordship sent for him he would then declare the contents of the paper to be true, but he would sign nothing. I must therefore entreat your Lordship to give orders for the major & my appearing before you, or that you would my Lord be pleased to let us wait on you tomorrow morning, in the meantime I beg leave to inclose to you his account of the affair.”

“ The account of what pass'd between the Bishop of Rochester & Colonel Williamson when I was present on Friday the 28th of December 1722.

“ Colonel Williamson having some business with the Bishop of Rochester sent for me to go with him to the said Bishop, I went with him to the said Bishop's apartment; Colonel Williamson immediately

after we were seated say'd: Sir how do you do—The Bishop replied with some warmth—Sir—I am not called so. The Colonel say'd, My Lord I ask your pardon, I did not mean any disrespect by it; the Bishop while the Colonel was saying this, turned to his servants, & bid 'em both stay in the room, the Colonel reply'd, My Lord, if both your servants are to stay here, I will have the Warders called up, & he spoke to one of 'em, & bid him call up the Warders; the Bishop said, you are my servants, you shall obey me, and ordered 'em not to call the Warders, for that the Warders had no business in his room, the Governour & Major being here, & that the Warders should not come up; the Colonel reply'd, My Lord there are three of you, & but two of us, & therefore I insist on't the Warders shall come up; the Colonel then got up & was going to call the Warders, when the Bishop hastily rose & got between him & the passage & as the Colonel was pressing forward I saw the Bishop put up both his hands against the Colonel by which I believe he was pushed upon the bed, it being close behind him, and his heels flew up. The Colonel immediately rose & said, I lay no violent hands on you my Lord; at this time I was much surprised, & turn'd to the Bishop, & said, pray My Lord, good My Lord, for heavens sake compose yourself; the Colonel on this proposed the following expedient to my Lord, that if he would order one of his servants to leave the room—then I and the other servant might be equal witnesses of what might be say'd betwixt 'em, to which the Bishop agreed, & ordered one of his servants to leave the room which he did accordingly. After this we all sat down & then the Colonel spoke to the Bishop about a window and concerning the Warders. The Bishop to some of the Colonel's questions say'd he would not answer him, and at last broke the discourse between 'em by getting up & saying, Sir—dont you think there will come a time when I shall be even with you; the Colonel rose & say'd, My Lord, I do not fear what you can do to me, as long as we shall have the blessing of a Protestant Reign, & then bid the Bishop good-night and left him.

" The above is (as near as I can remember) what pass'd between 'em."

" RICH^D. WHYTE."

The incident is referred to in "The Blackbird," by Atterbury's friend, Samuel Wesley (*Poems on several occasions*, 433). The caged bird represents Atterbury; Williamson appears as the Kite:

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“ The Kite, fit gaoler must be named,
 In prose and verse already famed.
 Bold to kill mice and now and then
 To steal a chicken from a hen.

* * * * *

Conscious of weakness when alone,
 He dares not trust him, one to one.
 So, every day and every hour,
 He shows his caution and his power;
 Each water-drop he close inspects
 And every single seed dissects;
 Nay, swears with a suspicious rage,
 He'll shut the air out of the cage.
 The Blackbird with a look replies,
 That flashed majestic from his eyes;
 Not sprung of Eagle-brood, the Kite
 Falls prostrate, grovelling, at the sight.
 A hero thus, with awful air,
 (If birds with heroes may compare)
 A ruffian greatly could dismay:
 ‘ Man, dar'st thou Caius Marius slay? ’
 Blasted the coward-wretch remains
 And owns the Roman, though in chains.”

In his speech to the Lords on the Bill to inflict pains and penalties, Atterbury says: “ My Lords, I have been under a very long and close confinement in which I have been treated by the person in whose immediate custody I was, with such severity and so great indignity as I believe no prisoner in the Tower of my age, infirmities, function and rank, ever underwent ” (Nichols, *Correspondence of Atterbury*, ed. 1783-90, ii, 105). On the Serjeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons attending at the Tower to deliver a copy of the Bill of Pains and Penalties to the Bishop (*see entry March 22, 1722-3*), there seems to have been another occasion of difference between the Bishop and Williamson. Dr Stratford writes (March 28, 1723): “ I hear poor Ruffe¹ could not forbear intemperate behaviour to Williamson before the Serjeant of the House of Commons. If you hear what it was, pray let me know. Nature must be very strong

¹ The Bishop of Rochester usually signs himself “ Roffen.”

that could not be restrained by his present circumstances." (*Portland MSS.* vii, 353.)

In the preface to the *Correspondence* (p. vi) it is said that "not even his son-in-law, Mr Morice, was permitted to speak to him in any nearer mode than standing in an open area whilst the Bishop looked out of a two pair of stairs window." Lord Stanhope says (*History of England*, ii, 57) that Atterbury was treated with great harshness in the Tower, and draws attention to the fact that while preparing for his defence with his son-in-law (who was a solicitor), they were only allowed to converse in the manner above described. It will be observed from the letters quoted that the Bishop makes no complaint of having to obtain professional advice under this disadvantage, and that he makes no application for leave to consult with his solicitor. Probably such an application would have been considered premature until a charge was formulated against him. We read in the *State Trials* (xvi, 493): "On April 9 [1723] the Bill to inflict pains and penalties on Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, was brought up from the Commons to the Lords and was read a first time. On the next day, on the Bishop's petition, counsel and solicitor were assigned to him with freedom of access to advise him in private."

It appears from the letters quoted above that the Bishop prayed to be allowed the use of pen and ink in private, protesting that no ill use could be made of the privilege if granted. Notwithstanding his protest we find that the Bishop managed to keep up a constant correspondence with his friends outside (see entry of February 25, 1722-3), a fact to which due weight should be given in deciding whether his treatment was unnecessarily severe.

Lord Townshend's order referred to in the entry of February 25 recites that Grant, the Bishop's servant, has concealed books and papers of importance to the safety of His Majesty's person and government, and directs the Constable, the Lieutenant or his Deputy, to make "strict and diligent search in the lodgings of the said Bishop and to secure all such books and papers that shall be found therein which shall appear to you to be of concern to His Majesty's government or the safety of His Majesty's person which papers your Lordship [the Constable, Lord Lincoln] is to transmit to me to be examined" (*Tower Records*, iii, 146). The examination of the Bishop's papers may have been connected with an incident described in the newspapers of February 24 (Canon Beeching, *Francis Atterbury*, 285) where it is alleged that Williamson

" seized Mrs Morice, the Bishop of Rochester's daughter, who came to enquire after her father's health, forced her to go into the house, and then searched her for papers, but found none." After this it is probable that the Bishop was more closely watched. At an earlier period of his imprisonment, the Secretary of State's orders had authorized the following persons to have interviews with the Bishop (*Tower Records*, iii, 143-5, and corresponding entries in the Diary in some instances): October 15, 1722, Dr Freind, physician, to attend the Bishop "from time to time as he shall desire during his indisposition" (Dr Freind was afterwards committed to the Tower in connection with Atterbury's plot; *see p. 174, infra*); October 25, Markham an apothecary; December 5, Mr Abraham Birch, to receive institution to a rectory; December 22, the Sub-Dean and Chapter Clerk of Westminster; December 31, Mr Temple Stanian (Clerk to the Secretary of State, *see p. 35, note (1)*), "as often as he shall have occasion"; January 24, 1722-3, the Revd. Mr William Ayerst for institution to the rectory of Gravesend. After this there is no record of any visitor until the interview, on March 22, with the Serjeant-at-Arms already referred to.

While the method of bringing the Bishop to trial was under consideration Lord Cadogan jestingly proposed that he should be thrown to the lions of the Tower menagerie. This brought a retort from the Bishop, who summed up his opinion of Cadogan in the line:

"A bold, bad, blundering, blustering, bloody, booby"

(Canon Beeching, *Francis Atterbury*, p. 285).

On April 5 Atterbury presented a petition to the House of Lords alleging "that on Thursday, the 4th inst., about three o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Williamson, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, attended by Mr Serjeant, the Gentleman Porter, came up to the petitioner's room while he was at dinner, and having put his two servants under the custody of warders below, told the petitioner he must search him. The petitioner asked him for his warrant. He answered he had authority from the ministry, affirming it upon his salvation, but the petitioner refused to be searched till he showed it. He then said he had a verbal order, but refused to say from whom. The petitioner told him if it were verbal only, it did not appear to him and he would not be searched. He endeavoured nevertheless to search the petitioner's pockets himself by force, but the petitioner wrapped his morning gown about him and would not suffer him till he showed his warrant, which the

petitioner demanded five or six times to no purpose. He then ordered the two warders attending to come to the petitioner and do their duty, and one of them laid hands upon him and began to use violence, and though the petitioner knocked and called often for his servants, Colonel Williamson said they should not, nor were they permitted to, come near him. Upon this, the petitioner submitted, and they took everything out of his pockets and searched his bureau and desk and carried away with them two seals. They seized also a paper in the petitioner's pocket, but that, being a letter to his solicitor, about the managing of his cause, which the petitioner thought they could have no pretence to seize while he was under the protection of Parliament, he took it again from them and tore it, but they carried a part of it along with them. They searched also his two servants below and took away a seal from one of them, and those servants likewise demanded their warrant, but they had none to produce. The petitioner therefore, as a Lord of Parliament, though under confinement, humbly prays that their Lordships would be pleased to take these matters into serious consideration and grant him such relief and protection as their Lordships shall judge proper against such unprecedented, illegal and insolent usage." A motion was made that Colonel Williamson, Mr Serjeant, the two warders, and the two servants of the Bishop do attend at the bar. This was negatived, the minority protesting that if the facts were as stated a breach of privilege had been committed and a violent and unjustifiable attempt had been made to hinder the petitioner in his defence, and interfere with the free and impartial administration of justice (*Lords Journals*, xxii, 139). The incident is explained by a letter from Williamson to Delafaye (Under Secretary of State) of April 4: "I was ordered by Mr Wallpoole to go to the Tower to search the B—— of R——r for his seals. I did so and must now desire you to procure a written order from my Lord Townshend for so doing, dated this day, lest the Bishop should complain I did it without proper authority, having had only Mr Wallpoole's verball commands for it" (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1723, Bundle 42). The written order seems to have been obtained. On May 5 Williamson writes as follows, probably to Delafaye:

Tower, May 5, 1723.—"I inclose you a true copy of the order for searching the Bishop's servant and lodgings and I shall take care to bring with me all orders concerning him tomorrow. I wish you

could get from my Lord Townshend (which his Lordship put into a drawer in his serciotore) the Majr's declaration of what passed between the Bishop and me at the time that he threw me on the bed. Pray trye for it and youl very much oblige."

The seal discovered by Williamson served to identify a letter written by the Bishop (Canon Beeching, *Francis Atterbury*, 289).

On March 12 Atterbury writes to Lord Harcourt (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1722-3, Bundle 42):

Tower, Mar. 12, 1722-3.—“ I just now hear that a Bill of Pains and Penaltys with relation to me, was ordered yesterday to be brought in, by the H. of Commons. It is therefore my humble request to your Lordship that you would procure from my Lord Townshend leave for my having the use of pen, ink and paper, in order to my doing what my very ill state of health will allow me to do towards preparing myself for my defence, without loss of time; a great part of which my present infirmities will deprive me of, even after I shall be allowed this liberty.

“ I would have wrote also to my Lord Townshend myself on this head, but that I am extremely sick and weak, and hope your Lordship's interposition on my behalf will be every way as decent and succesful as a direct application from me would have been.

“ The sooner your Lordship procures me this faver the greater that faver will be to my Lord, your Lordship's much afflicted and most obedient servant FRA. ROFFEN.

“ Col. Williamson knows well I cannot any wayes misuse the liberty desird.”

The Bill of pains and penalties passed the Commons on April 9, 1723, and was brought up to the Lords where it was to be debated early in May. Meanwhile, on April 13, the Secretary of State issued an order for the Bishop's daughter, Mrs Morice, to have an interview with her father, in the presence of the Lieutenant or his Deputy, and for Dr Hugh Chamberlen to see the Bishop in the presence of the physician of the Tower. On April 17 a further order authorized Mrs Morice to be alone with the Bishop (*Tower Records*, iii, 148; cf. entries in the Diary.). The Bishop spoke in his defence before the House of Lords (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 585; the speech as given by Nichols, *Correspondence of Atterbury*, Vol. ii, p. 105, is said to be the more accurate) and the Bill, sentencing him to banish-

ment, passed on May 15. On Atterbury's return to the Tower after the second reading of the Bill, four of the guard "drank the Pretender's health at the Canteen and smarted for it before the week was out" (Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, i, 418). On May 18 an order issued that the relations of the Bishop, and persons with whom he might have business to transact, might have access to him (*Tower Records*, iii, 154). On June 4 Williamson reported to the authorities at Whitehall as follows on the subject of a further secret correspondence:

Tower, June 4, 1723.—"Honoured Sir, The bearer of this who works in his Majesty's yard at Deptford came to me to informe of a secret corespondance which has been carry'd on for some time past by friends to the late Bishop of Rochester I take leave to send him to you in hopes that if anything should for the future be transacted to his Majesty's disadvantage it may be discovered.

"I have the honour to be with the greatest veneration, Sir your most oblig'd and most obedient humble servant A. WILLIAMSON" (*State Papers, Domestic*, Geo. I, Bundle 43).

Atterbury's was the last case of an Act of pains and penalties, under which punishment less than capital can be inflicted, but upon which evidence which would be inadmissible in a court of law can be received. In the case of Queen Caroline in 1820 the Bill of pains and penalties was withdrawn. See, as to this form of procedure, *Hatsell's Precedents*, ed. 1818, iv, 100-103, 244-249, 331-346.

As to the Bishop's banishment see entry of June 17, 1723. By order of the Secretary of State of that date (*Tower Records*, iii, 154) the Bishop is directed to be placed on board His Majesty's ship the "Aldborough" which is appointed to transport him out of the King's dominions. At the foot is the following receipt: "Received from Colonel Williamson the body of Francis Atterbury late Bishop of Rochester. Given on board my ship the Aldborough this 18th day of June 1723, as likewise Thomas Grant and Joseph Beauchamp the two servants that were confined with him in the Tower—I say received this 18th day of June, by me, THO. LAWRENCE." Williamson made the following report of the event, probably to the Under-Secretary of State:

"Tower June the 18th [1723] 10 a Clock at night. Dear Sir I just now retuernd here from on board the Alborough man of war,

which I saw under sail from Long Reach at five a clock this evening the Duke of Wharton, Doctor Bridges, and several others of Mr. Atterbury's friends of less note saw him on board, and went further with him than I did; at parting from the man of war, we gave three huzzas for King George and we had the compliment returned from the ship to the great mortification of the proud banish'd Prelate. At the Wharf stairs here, there were several boats lay off, but they were mear spectators, friends and foes mix'd, whose curiosity brought 'em to take a view of him at parting.

"In our passage down the river, he began his attack on me in his old way and among other his bitterness to me he told me he had not forgott the seals, and he asked me whether I did not think there wou'd come a time when he wou'd call me to an account for 'em. I told him when the Pretender came I expected to hear from him but as long as we had a Protestant Reign I should neither trouble my head about him or his menaces, in a word we parted as ill friends as an honest whig and a Jacobite tory should; but besides my difference with him there happened nothing extraordinary.

"I shall do all I can for a happy return of good sheriffs, and assure you of no neglect on my side, I am Sir with the greatest esteem your most obedient and very humble servant A. WILLIAMSON.

"I took the Captain's receipt for Mr. Atterbury."

It was apprehended that Atterbury's removal to the ship would have been the signal of insurrection but nothing of the kind took place. Walpole in a letter to Townshend of June 20, refers to the Bishop's embarkation: "Nothing very extraordinary but the Duke of Wharton's behaviour who accompanied him on board of the vessel, and a free conversation betwixt his holiness and Williamson with menaces of a day of vengeance" (Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, ii, 84).

A medal was struck to commemorate the suppression of Atterbury's plot. On the obverse the Bishop and four others—perhaps the Duke of Norfolk, Lords North and Grey and Orrery, and George Kelly—are seated round a table. On the reverse the same figures are surmounted by the eye of Providence, from which proceed lightnings to strike down the conspirators. There are mottoes, the numeral letters of which give the dates 1722, 1723 (Thomas Wright, *England under the House of Hanover*, i, 77, 78).

WILLIAMSON AND LORD CARLISLE

(Page 29, note (1) *supra*).

Williamson's orders of December 25, 1722, got him into trouble with the Constable, Lord Carlisle (Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle (1674-1738), Constable of the Tower October, 1715-December, 1722, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). It appears from the *State Papers, Domestic* (George I, Bundle 37), that shortly before Christmas Day, 1722, Williamson reported to Lord Carlisle on the conduct of Brooks, the Gentleman Gaoler, in the following terms:

Dec. 1722.—“ That he is very frequently drunk.

“ That he has frequently told the prisoners things that I have said to him concerning their security though I had charged him to the contrary.

“ That his method of visiting Kelly Johnson¹ has frequently been by retiring into a closet with him to the great concern of the warders who were attending for the security of the prisoner.

“ That he has said he has now got a sett of prisoners who will take care of him.

“ That contrary to my orders given him that no women should be admitted to visit the prisoners, he carried his wife to the Bishop of Rochester & she dined with him.”

The following letter from the Constable refers to a further complaint by Williamson:

Dec. 26, 1722.—“ I think it necessary to take the examination of the matter of complaint that you laid before me the other day against the two warders, who did duty at that time upon the Bishop, & being confined to my roome, I must desire the favour that you will attend here tomorrow at twelve aclock, and that you will direct the said warders to be here likewise. If any person was by, that can give an account of the transaction, you will order them to attend, and if the warders desire that any should attend upon their account, you will give directions accordingly. I dont mean that it should extend to the bringing any persons before me that is at present under

¹ Johnson was the name by which George Kelly was known amongst the conspirators.

confinement. I have given notice to the Lieutenant, Major, and gentleman porter to be here.

"I am surprised to hear that you have given out new orders concerning the officers & prisoners of the Tower, without first having my approbation & directions therein, you can't suppose that I will suffer any officer whatsoever under my command, to give orders in the Tower while I am here upon the spot, without first receiving their directions from me. I desire you will bring me a copy of these orders."

On the day appointed for the examination of the complaint (December 27), Lord Carlisle was removed from the post of Constable (see pp. 31, 34, *supra*), according to Dr Stratford, because he reproved Williamson for his behaviour to the prisoners (*Portland MSS.*, vii, 344). The Gentleman Gaoler and Cousins, a warder, were dismissed the following month (see entry of February 25, 1722-3).

DOCTOR HARVEY

(Page 37, note (4) *supra*).

Gideon Harvey the younger (1669?-1754), appointed King's Physician to the Tower about 1700-2. The appointment was by commission on the recommendation of the Constable (Bayley, *History of the Tower*, 667). In March, 1729, Dr Harvey states in a memorial to the Treasury that as Physician to the Tower he receives according to the ancient establishment only 13d. a day, notwithstanding his frequent attendance and the great trust reposed in him, and asks to receive an equal salary with the Physician General of the army. This request was granted (*Cal. of Treasury Papers*, 1729, 1730, 40, 48). In a letter from the Secretary of State to the Constable, dated February 24, 1722-3, the King's order is announced that the ancient usage should be continued whereby "the Physician of the Tower attended all prisoners there who wanted advice concerning their health, and that when such prisoners desired to be attended by physicians of their own naming the said Physician to the Tower was always present when the physicians they desired were admitted to visit them and did inspect the prescriptions of such other physicians" (*Tower Records*, iii, 190; entry in the Diary February 24, 1722-3).

THE TOWER COURT AND LIBERTY

(Page 26, note (2) *supra*.)

The Tower Court was a court of record held by prescription within the verge of the City on Tower Hill, presided over by a Steward appointed by the Constable of the Tower, and having jurisdiction over causes and offences arising in the Liberty of the Tower. By letters patent of 3 James II, the liberty of the Tower (see p. 26, note (2) and p. 70, note) as therein defined is to be free from the government of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Justices of the Peace and Coroner of the City, and from the government of the Justices of the Peace and Coroners of Middlesex. The chief governor of the Tower is to have the return and execution of all writs within the liberty. A sessions of the peace is to be held within the liberty at the four usual times of the year by Justices of the Peace to be appointed by the Crown. The court is to have power to entertain all manner of civil actions, and to issue criminal process and commit to Newgate; also a prison is to be provided within the liberty. The Steward is to be coroner within the liberty (*Bayley, History of the Tower*, Part II, cxii; *Maitland, History of London*, 176, 1214). The courts appear to have been held weekly (*Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1839-1841, p. 589). In earlier times there had been frequent disputes between the Lieutenant of the Tower and the citizens of London as to the jurisdiction of the Tower Court. In the first year of Elizabeth the Lieutenant claimed the right to grant protection from arrest of a person taken in execution under process of the Tower Court, for a period of one year from the execution. In 1585 the Privy Council referred the question to the two Chief Justices and the Master of the Rolls, who reported that such persons as are daily attendant at the Tower, serving Her Majesty there, are privileged and not to be arrested upon any plaint in London, but that there was no privilege for writs of execution or outlawry, and that the right to grant protections claimed by the Lieutenant was against Her Majesty's laws and dignity. This report was confirmed by order of the Privy Council dated October 3, 1585 (*Stow, Survey of London*, i, 372-3). The Liberty of the Tower included the two Precincts known as the "Tower Within" and the "Tower Without" (see p. 26, note (2) *supra*). In the action brought by the inhabitants of the Tower Within against those of the Tower

Without and tried in the King's Bench in December, 1730 (*see p. 68, supra*), it was held that the Chapelry of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, which constituted the Tower Within, was extra-parochial and not rateable to the poor. The case for the Tower Within was ably prepared by Hopton Haynes, theological writer and Assay-master of the Mint, and was printed and privately published by him in 1728 under the title, *A brief enquiry relating to the right of His Majesty's Royal Chapel and the privilege of his servants within the Tower, in a Memorial addressed to the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Lonsdale, Constable of His Majesty's Tower of London*. In a letter prefixed the author writes: "The inhabitants of the Tower Within (who are all, except a few tenants, his Majesty's servants, either acting immediately under your Lordship or in the Mint, the Ordnance, and in the Offices for Records and for Works) have enjoyed immemorially the immunities and privileges commonly belonging to his Majesty's Royal Palaces and Castles of Residence." The manuscript on which this work is founded is in Add. MS. 15664 at folios 192, 195 and consists of the letter and Memorial referred to at p. 63, note (3). For biographical particulars of the author see the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the prefaces to the 2nd, 3rd and 4th editions of *The Scripture Account of the attributes and worship of God, &c.*, by Haynes. And as to the Tower Court and Liberty *see also S. and B. Webb, English Local Government—The Manor and the Borough*, p. 98, note; Ordnance Records at P.R.O., W.O. 55, No. 1776, *passim*; Stow's, *London* (1754) i, 69, 371.

CHRISTOPHER LAYER

(*Page 34, note (2) supra*).

Christopher Layer, a barrister, was engaged in a plot to place the Pretender upon the throne. His plan was to obtain possession of the Tower, having previously corrupted some of the garrison, and, while spreading the insurrection through London and the country, to seize the persons of the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Commander-in-Chief. Having visited the Pretender in Rome in 1721, Layer obtained introductions to Lords North and Grey, and Lord Orrery, two of the leaders in Atterbury's plot, and produced his plan to them, but the discovery of the plot prevented further action.

Being arrested Sept. 18, 1722, and placed in charge of a messenger,

Layer escaped the next day and got across the river to Southwark where he was recaptured. He was examined by the Privy Council Sept. 20 and committed to the Tower the same day. On Sept. 23 Lord Townsend writes to General Compton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, that to relieve him, Colonel Manning or Colonel Leg is to be constantly in the house with Layer, and they had charge of the prisoner until his execution (*Cal. of Treasury Papers* 1720-1728, 245). By order of Sept. 30 Layer was to be further examined by the Council. On Oct. 1 (*Tower Records*, iii, 157) the Secretary of State issued a warrant in the following terms to the Lieutenant of the Tower or his deputy: "Whereas Christopher Layer a prisoner in your custody stands charged upon the oath of several credible witnesses with high treason and being apprehended for the same did fly from justice and was retaken And whereas the secure keeping of him is of the greatest importance to the safety of His Majesty's person and the peace of his realms These are in His Majesty's name to will and require you to cause him the said Christopher Layer to be put into irons for the more effectual securing his person in your custody." On October 31 Layer was brought to the bar of the King's Bench to plead to his indictment for treason and begged that his irons might be taken off, but his request was refused by Chief Justice Pratt. He was brought to trial on November 21, when the Chief Justice ordered the irons to be removed. Counsel argued that it was so rare a thing to put irons on a prisoner in the Tower that the authorities had to send to Newgate for them. Layer was found guilty and sentenced to death (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi; 8 *Modern Reports*, 82). On January 9, 1722-3, Lord Townsend writes to Williamson (*Tower Records*, iii, 164): "I have laid before the King Mr. Layer's letter desiring that his irons may be taken off and I am commanded by His Majesty to signify to you that His Majesty does not think it reasonable to comply with his request and will give no such directions; with which you will acquaint Mr. Layer." On December 26, 1722, there is a warrant for Anthony Cracherode, the Solicitor to the Treasury (see *supra* p. 35, note (1)), to have access to Layer and be with him alone. It was thought that Layer could furnish useful information to the Government if he were so minded and in the expectation of disclosures he was respite no less than seven times, viz., until the following days: December 22, January 19, February 4, February 11, March 27, May 3, May 14. The Court of King's Bench having originally fixed the execution for December 12, and the King having subse-

quently granted reprieves, it seems to have been considered that the prisoner could not be executed without a further order of the Court. Accordingly Layer was brought up to the King's Bench on February 8, when a rule was made for his execution on March 27. A reprieve having been subsequently granted it was necessary to bring the prisoner into the King's Bench again, and this was done on May 2 or 3, when his execution was fixed for the 17th of the same month. Layer either could not or would not give such information as the Government considered satisfactory, and he was hanged at Tyburn May 17, 1723 (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 93; *Tower Records*, iii, 155–165). In an undated petition written in French,¹ in which Layer prays the King to spare his life, he refers to his wife and three children. (*State Papers, Domestic, George I*, B. 65). There is a portrait of Layer in Caulfield's *Portraits, Memoirs, &c., from 1688 to the end of George II's reign*, ii, 110. See also the article "Christopher Layer" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and note "Sheriffs of London and Middlesex and Layer's execution," p. 176, *infra*.

LORD NORTH AND GREY.

(Page 34, note (4) *supra*).

William North, Lord North and Grey, General, was one of the leaders in Atterbury's plot. He was also in communication with Christopher Layer, and stood for the Pretender as god-father to Layer's child. Layer proposed that Lord North should have chief command when the plot was carried into execution, but the latter proposed the Duke of Ormond. As to Lord North's share in the conspiracy, see the Report of the Commons Committee (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 325, and in particular 349–357). It would appear that he favoured a rising without foreign aid, but was not prepared to adopt Layer's scheme. Upon Layer's arrest, September 18, 1722, he sent word to Lord North, who endeavoured to escape to France, but was arrested in the Isle of Wight. The warrant for Lord North's committal to the Tower is dated September 29 (*Tower Records*, iii, 171). An application at the Middlesex Sessions that he might be brought to trial or bailed was refused (*Fortescue's Reports*, 103). On October 17 the Lords consented to his detention (*Lords Journals*, xxii, 22). On Layer's trial in November, 1722, Lord North was brought from the Tower to give evidence as to

¹ The King spoke no English.

the character of a witness for the prosecution, and, having given his evidence, he added: "I must beg your Lordships' leave if the gentlemen have nothing farther to say to me and your Lordship have no farther commands, that I may return to my prison" (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 245-7). By warrant of May 25, 1723, such persons as desire to speak with Lord North and Grey are to have access to him (*Tower Records*, iii, 190), and on May 28 he was released on bail (see pp. 42, 43, *supra*).

LORD ORRERY.

(Page 34, note (4) *supra*).

Charles Boyle, 4th Earl of Orrery (1676-1737), was a pupil of Atterbury's at Oxford, and was one of the leaders of the Jacobite plot. He agreed with the Bishop that no decisive step should be taken without foreign aid. The warrant for his committal for high treason is dated September 28, 1722. On October 17 the Lords consented to his detention (*Lords Journals*, xxii, 22). An application at Middlesex Sessions that he might be brought to trial or bailed was refused (*Fortescue's Reports*, 103). Upon the report of Sir Hans Sloane, January 30, 1722-3, Lord Orrery was permitted to take the air within the Tower under a sufficient guard, so that he had no communication with anybody. On February 25 the Earl was examined by Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Richard Mead and Dr. Gideon Harvey, who reported to the Secretary of State as follows (*S.P. Domestic, George I*, B. 41):

Tower, Feb. 25, 1722-3.—"In obedience to his Majesty's command signifying to us by your Lordship, that we should this day visit the Right Hon. The Earl of Orrery and report the state of his Lordship's health as it shall appear to us, we have accordingly waited on his Lordship, and made the most particular enquiry we can, concerning his health; upon which we find that his Lordship's appetite to his food, very much fails him, not being able to eat any flesh and contenting himself with fish, puddings, broaths, chocolate etc. That he is much wasted in his flesh & in his strength, being apt to fall into faint sweats, especially towards the morning. His pulse is rather too quick, his tongue whitish and he has too much thirst. Upon the whole we are of opinion that his Lordship's constitution gradually declines, & is very much impaired."

On March 2 the physicians again reported (Bundle 42):

Tower, March 2, 1722-3.—“Having in obedience to your Lordship's commands, this day visited the Rt. Hon^{ble}. the Earl of Orrery, and made a particular enquiry into the circumstances of his health; we find, that his Lordship is rather weaker than when we waited on him this day senight his appetite to his food being less; his Lordship also complaining that his strength is lessened, being sometimes giddy and out of breath upon a little motion; he also complains of a pain in his head. He is very much wasted in his flesh, looks pale and wan and his night-sweats continue. His pulse is weak, his tongue whitish, and he complains of an inward dryness and thirst.

“Upon the whole we are of opinion that his Lordship's constitution continues to decline.”

A warrant of March 7 authorizes Mr. Mead, goldsmith (the Diary says “banker”), with a notary, to see the Earl as to the sale of South Sea Stock. On March 12 Lord Orrery was bailed, and went to his house at Britwell in charge of Colonel Otway. Soon afterwards he was released from custody (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Canon Beeching, *Francis Atterbury*; *Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 325 *et seq.*; *Tower Records*, iii, 167-171. See also pp. 35-38 of the Diary, *supra*).

GEORGE KELLY.

(Page 35, note (8) *supra*).

The Rev. George Kelly, born in 1688, in the County of Roscommon, was now a professing non-juror, though he was said to have taken the oaths in Queen Anne's time. In 1718 he went to Paris and became a successful adventurer in the Mississippi Scheme. He came to England in 1720, and while acting as secretary to Bishop Atterbury was arrested on suspicion of treason (May, 1722). Upon his arrest Kelly threatened the messenger with a drawn sword, and was thus enabled to burn a paper before it could be secured. He was admitted to bail early in June, but arrested again and committed to the Tower, “to be kept close” (October 6). On October 29 there is a letter from the Secretary of State to the Lieutenant of the Tower to allow Humphry Bayley “to have a sight of George Kelly, a prisoner in your custody, and that you will order it so that the said Kelly may at such time be drest in his ordinary clothes as he used to be when he went abroad, not in

the disguise of a night-gown and cap." On March 5, 1722-3, there is a warrant for Edward Spear, one of H.M. messengers in ordinary, and William Wood to have access to George Kelly (*Tower Records*, iii, 175), perhaps for the purpose of identification; compare entries April 18 and 28, 1723. On February 21 there is an order for Dr. Purcel to see Kelly (*Tower Records*, iii, 174; and *see* entry in the Diary of that date). George Kelly had applied to the Constable for permission to have medical advice, and had written to Mrs Dennis Kelly on the subject. The following letter from the *State Papers, Domestic* (*George I, Bundle 41*), was probably written by the Dennis Kelly who was proposed as solicitor for George Kelly (*see* p. 40, note (1)).

Dennis Kelly to Mr. Delafaye (Under Secretary of State). Feb. 22, 1722-3.—"The enclosed is a letter come from Mr. George Kelly a prisoner in the Tower, who (tis thought) has the small-pox, he has applied to my Lord Lincoln to represent his condition to my Lord Townsend and begged to have either Doctor Brown, or Doctor Purcell to attend him in his sickness, if my Lord Townsend thinks it convenient to indulge him with any, I wu'd pray his Lordship's warrant for Mr. Brown to'ther not being in the way.

"I shall wait of you, about six this evening to know his Lordships commands."

Enclosure. "Madam, Being much indisposed, I have applied to the Earl of Lincoln for liberty to have Dr. Brown or Dr. Purcell to come to me, and his Lordship has been so good as to promise to represent it to Lord Townsend, but thinks that if any friend of my own would apply to his Lordship's secretary, it might be the sooner done, and if your Ladyship would be so good as to get somebody to apply for leave for Dr. Brown, and get him to step so far, it would be a very particular favour to, madam your most humble & most obedient servant Geo. Kelly."

Feb. 21. (Endorsed "To the Hon. M^{rs}. Kelly.")¹

Kelly was proceeded against by a Bill of pains and penalties. In his speech to the Lords he complains that he has been guarded in a different manner from other people in the Tower: "My warders

¹ Probably Mrs. Dennis Kelly; *see* note "Dennis Kelly," *infra*.

were put into the very room with me and ordered never to stir a moment, night or day, out of it; which orders they punctually obeyed and were constant witnesses to all my actions." He says that an allowance of five shillings a day made by the Government for his maintenance was not converted to any private use of his, but constantly given to the persons appointed to attend him, and that it had cost him more since he was sent to the Tower than the Government had left him worth in the world. By the Act of pains and penalties, which was passed in May, 1723, Kelly was sentenced to be kept in close and safe custody during His Majesty's pleasure, and to forfeit all his lands and goods. He remained in the Tower until 1736, and we find an account of his circumstances there in the *Memoirs of his Life* (1736): "He was for the first two years imprisoned in Beauchamp's Tower in a small room and none permitted to converse with him but through a grate. The closeness of his confinement greatly impaired his health, which being represented to his Majesty, Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead were ordered to visit him. In 1725 he was removed to a pleasant apartment in that part of the Tower called the South Line [the South inner wall on which Williamson's house stood], and had also the liberty of walking upon the Parade. In religious offices during his sickness he was attended by the Revd. Mr. Creake, Chaplain to the late Dutchess of Ormond, and to confirm his health the Deputy Governor indulged him in taking the air in his own coach within the walls of the Tower. But of late years there has been a coldness between them insomuch that he has not visited Mr. Kelly as he constantly used to do, but what have been the motives of this pique in that gentleman does not in anywise fall within our province to enquire. [Cf. entry in the Diary, October 25, 1736.] By minutes taken from a register-book relating to State prisoners we find that on the 25th day of May 1728 he had the liberty of entertaining himself by going when he pleased to the Coffee House in the Tower, where he dined often with the officers and the best company. And at length on the 6th day of February 1730 he had the liberty of taking the air anywhere within ten miles of London and returning home the same evening under the care of the Gentleman Gaoler. By his affable behaviour he rendered himself universally agreeable and was never once heard to repine at his fate. Most of the inhabitants of the Tower of both sexes visited him without reserve, regarding him as their neighbour, their friend and their companion. Whatever favours he received from them, he always

returned in the genteelst manner in his own apartment, but finding private entertainments too expensive for his allowance of five shillings per diem, he latterly chose public conversation when he only paid his club."

A warrant of August 1, 1724, refers to Kelly as a prisoner in "Beecham's Tower" and gives permission to move him to the house of Richard Maddox, a warder, for the recovery of his health. He is to have liberty to walk "upon the Line or Leads of the said house facing the River Thames, in the presence of an officer of the said Garrison" (*Tower Records*, iii, 186, and see entry in the Diary, August 5, 1724). It would seem that the privilege so gained was not greatly valued or was soon forgotten, for on May 26, 1725, Kelly addresses the following letter to the Secretary of State (*State Papers, Domestic*, George I, B. 56):

"Tho it be an observation of the celebrated Philip de Comines y^t a man never repents saying too little, yet I am afraid y^t I have reason to repent saying so little to your Grace as I have done and do believe y^t I should have fared much better had I been more frequent in my applications to you; for, my Lord, if you were truly apprised of my sufferings I cannot be perswaded that they must not move your compassion or y^t you would deny me a part of that generosity which you so liberally extend to such numbers of other people. But my misfortune is that few persons are acquainted with the miseries of such a punishment and y^t I am a stranger here, and destitute of friends to make a due representation of 'em; for otherwise it is impossible that I should remain so long deprived of the King's favour or suffer so much under a Prince who seems to take a pleasure in acts of mercy.

"My Lord, I have now undergone the misery of near three years close imprisonment without the least indulgence or mitigation of it, not even so much as the liberty of pen and ink to amuse and divert the time. And since my case is so very miserable I hope your Grace will be so compassionate as to recommend the enclosed petition to His Majesty, the original of which I have sent to the Constable to be presented upon the Birthday to him. This will be an act agreeable to that generosity which your Grace is so remarkable for, and placing an eternal obligation upon, my Lord, your Grace's most dutiful and most obedient servant." The petition enclosed prays for enlargement from prison and states that during his imprisonment the petitioner has been without the sight of any of his friends. A warrant of August 12, 1725, directs that Kelly may "take the

APPENDIX

air on the Parade or where may be thought most safe for his person and advantagious [sic] for the recovery of his health within the Tower walls, for the space of one hour in a day, and likewise that he may be visited by his own physician and apothecary and attended by his own servant. Provided that at all such times an officer of the Tower or Warder be present with him" (*Tower Records*, iii, 187).

In January, 1730-1 Kelly presented the following petition: "To the King's most excellent Majesty. The humble petition of George Kelly prisoner in the Tower of London most humbly sheweth: That your petitioner has for some time past been afflicted with a convulsive asthma occasioned by 8 long years close imprisonment, which sickness is of late so much encreased that his life is thought to be in danger, as appears by the testimonial of your Majesty's Physician of the Tower and others hereunto annexed. Your petitioner therefore most humbly implores your Majesty (as he is a prisoner only during your royal pleasure) to extend your wonted clemency and compassion to him in these deplorable circumstances and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to give leave that he may be permitted to go to Hampstead for the benefit of the air attended by a warder, or grant him such other indulgence for the preservation of his life as to your Majesty in your great wisdom and goodness shall seem meet." The petition is accompanied by the following medical report: "Having met to consider the state of Mr. George Kelly's health, now a prisoner in the Tower of London, upon the examination of himself, of Thomas Davenport his apothecary, Mr. Abraham Fowler, Gentleman Gaoler, Thomas Holland his warder, Elizabeth Wright his nurse and Jane Hunt, servant maid of the house in which he is confined, who all have been frequently called to his assistance in his fits; We find and do believe that the said Geo. Kelly has frequent paroxysms of a convulsive asthma, which are very dangerous and may prove fatal to his life, he being of a weak constitution and much impaired thereby. Hans Sloane. Gideon Harvey. Edw^d. Browne. Tower of London 21 Jan. 1730." On January 26, Williamson writes to General Compton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, after stating the result of the doctors' visit to Kelly: "Yesterday and this morning his fits have been so violent that Holland his warder thought he would not outlive 'em and they are very apprehensive of his sudden death. He himself is so too and desires that M^r Kreek a parson of his acquaintance may be admitted to him to give him the sacrament. Be pleased to

Let me know whether he may visit him, when he comes, in the presence of us or a warder, or any other commands you have for Sir, your most humble and obedient servant." On January 30 Williamson writes to acquaint the Duke of Newcastle that Sir Hans Sloane and the other doctors think that "sleeping in the air is what alone can be of service to Kelly in his asthmatick disorder. He asks leave to reside within a few miles of London, the doctors now thinking that Hampstead is too sharp an air for him." On February 5 Kelly writes to the Duke of Newcastle thanking him for permission to go abroad for two hours a day, but points out that two hours will be occupied in going and returning through the streets of London, so that he will have no time to breathe in the open air, and asks for five or six hours a day. He adds: "I beg leave further to assure your Grace yt I would sooner dye in my present wretched condition than do anything contrary to whatever indulgence you shall be pleased to grant me." On March 4 Kelly writes again that he understands the Duke is willing to allow him to go abroad five or six hours a day, and asks for an order for this purpose. This is his last and he fears his dying request. He will make no ill use of the indulgence (*State Papers, Domestic*, Geo. II, B. 22).

The Diary gives a particular account of Kelly's escape from the Tower, October 25, 1736 (see p. 94, *supra*). The following account is from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1736, pp. 618, 682. "Mr George Kelly formerly Secretary to the Bishop of Rochester made his escape from the Tower where he had been confined 14 years but had lately the liberty to take the air with a warder. He wrote a letter next morning to the Duke of Newcastle acknowledging His Majesty's goodness towards him and excusing the attempt he made to regain his liberty, and another to a gentleman in the Tower assigning over to him all his books, etc., at his lodgings. A reward of £200 is offered for apprehending him." "The Commissioners of Excise received advice from one of their officers in the Isle of Thanet that Mr Kelly embarked at Broadstairs in that island. Two fishermen set him on shore at Calais. He gave them five guineas and told them if anybody enquired for George Kelly they might say he was safe landed in France. On hearing the advertisement read, offering £200 for taking Kelly, they cried out: 'Lord, this is the man we landed in France,' and related the above particulars." The following is the advertisement in the *London Gazette*: "Whitehall. October 26, 1736. Whereas George Kelly a prisoner in the Tower of London made his escape from thence yesterday as is supposed between the hours of

7 and 8 in the evening; Her Majesty¹ is graciously pleased to promise a reward of £200 to any person or persons that shall apprehend and seize or cause to be apprehended and seized the said George Kelly so that he may be secured and proceeded against according to law. Holles Newcastle. The said George Kelly is aged about 48 years, 5 feet 10 inches high or thereabouts, a little too slender leg'd for his height, of a fair complexion, good teeth, large blue eyes, and a broad and flattish face, inclining to be slender rather than fat. A. Williamson."

According to Williamson's entry in the Diary of October 25, 1736, Kelly went from Calais to the Duke of Ormond at Avignon where he stayed some time. In 1744 he was in the service of Prince Charles Edward and was one of the seven men of Moidart who landed in Scotland with him in July, 1745. Andrew Lang describes Kelly as "learned, discreet, witty, brave and a general favourite with men and women," and thinks that he must share the responsibility for the Prince's unexpected descent in Scotland. In October, 1745, Kelly was sent to France to solicit aid from Louis XV, and on Charles Edward's arrival in France in October, 1746, Kelly was appointed his secretary on the recommendation of Sempil, one of James' managers in Paris. Balhaldy, writing to Edgar in May, 1747, says of Kelly that "trick, falsehood, deceit, and imposition joined to those qualities that make up a sycophant . . . are the rules of his policy" (Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 371-2). Probably this account was prejudiced. We know, at least, that Kelly served the Prince faithfully, and though dismissed from his service in 1749, he returned later. In February, 1748, Sempil sent James a paper in which Kelly is accused of being the ruin of the cause. Kelly was amongst those who were specifically excluded from the benefit of the Act of Indemnity in 1747. A good deal of his true history is contained in the novel *Parson Kelly*, by Messrs. A. E. W. Mason and Andrew Lang. George Kelly is not to be confounded with Father Kelly, Charles Edward's Director, a drunkard, who had an evil influence over the Prince. George Kelly died in 1762 (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 323; *Tower Records*, iii, 136-188; Forbes, *Lyon in Mourning*; Marchant, *History of the Rebellion*; Chambers, *History of the Rebellion*; Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*; Andrew Lang, *Prince Charles Edward Stuart, The Companions of Pickle*, and Preface to *Redgauntlet*; Shield and Lang, *The King over the Water*).

¹ The Queen was acting as Regent in the King's absence.

DENNIS KELLY

(Page 35, note (8) *supra*).

Captain Dennis Kelly had been in the habit of meeting other disaffected persons at Lady Wentworth's lodgings at the Cockpit, and when about to ship for France in July, 1722, he was arrested on a charge of high treason and committed to the Tower, "to be kept safe and close" (Warrant dated July 30, 1722, *Tower Records*, iii, 135). His wife and her mother were believed to be in the conspiracy but, though arrested, were not detained. A letter dated July 30, from one Joseph Andrews to a correspondent in Paris, announces that Dennis Kelly, who married a niece of the Lord Strafford's, a daughter of the Lady Bellew, with his whole family were seized as they were embarking for France on account of his daughter's health. It is said further that many civilities were shown them because Lord Bathurst who was their relation interceded in their behalf (*Memoirs of the Life of the Revd. Mr George Kelly*, 1736, p. 16; and see Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, i, 367). On August 15, 1722, there is a warrant for Dr Freind the physician to attend Dennis Kelly (*Tower Records*, iii, 136). On September 7, Kelly was brought up at the Old Bailey with Atterbury, when an application to bail them was refused (see note "Bishop Atterbury," pp. 143-4, *supra*). The warrant for Dennis Kelly's examination by the Committee of the Commons is dated, February 1, 1722-3 (*Tower Records*, iii, 136). The result of his examination is given in the Report of the Committee dated March 1 (see *Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 413-415). He is reported to have behaved himself with obstinacy on the occasion (*Ib.*). On March 22 is a warrant to permit Peter Sexton Councillor at law and John Mulholland Gent. to have access to Dennis Kelly in the presence of the Constable or Lieutenant or his Deputy "in order to the settling with the said Dennis Kelly a clause in a bill to be brought into Parliament for sale of a part of the Lord Bellew's estate in Ireland, in the doing whereof the consent of the said Dennis Kelly is required" (*Tower Records*, iii, 137). Dennis Kelly was admitted to bail May 28, 1723 (see entry in the Diary of that date).

DR FREIND

(Page 38, note (5) *supra*).

John Freind (1675-1728), physician, became acquainted with Atterbury while a student at Oxford, and was on intimate terms with him for the rest of his life. Freind married, in 1709, Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas Morice, Paymaster of the Forces in Portugal. In 1715 Atterbury's daughter, Mary, was married to William the eldest son of Thomas Morice. Freind expressed himself strongly on the subject of Atterbury's imprisonment, and, pursuant to a resolution of the House of Commons, of which he was a member, he was committed to the Tower for high treason March 15, 1722-3, to be kept a close prisoner. At the foot of the warrant of committal is a memorandum: "Mr^s. Friend [*sic*] to send a servant to the Cockpitt at two o'clock for a warrant for her husband's servants," and a man-servant and a maid-servant were admitted to attend him. On May 6 Dr Richard Mead was permitted "to discourse with him upon certain matters relating to his profession of physick and to be alone with him at convenient hours." It is said that Dr Mead was called upon to attend Sir Robert Walpole professionally and refused to prescribe for him until Freind was liberated (Munk's *Roll*, cited below). During Freind's imprisonment he began his learned work *The History of Physic*. Upon Atterbury's departure from the Tower on June 18, 1723, he was allowed to converse with Dr Freind. The latter was released on bail three days later, and finally discharged in November, 1723. Subsequently Freind was physician to the Prince of Wales and to Queen Caroline (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Canon Beeching, *Francis Atterbury*; Folkestone Williams, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury*, i, 433; Munk, *Roll Coll. Phys.*, ii, 48; *Commons Journals*, xx, 166; *Tower Records*, iii, 191-2; and see entries in the Diary, January 5, 1722-3, June 21, 1723).

JOHN PLUNKET

(Page 40, note (2) *supra*.)

John Plunket (1664-1734) was concerned in Atterbury's plot and acted in conjunction with Christopher Layer (see p. 162, *supra*). In 1721 Plunket and Layer visited Rome and saw the Pretender.

Plunket endeavoured to corrupt serjeants in the army who might drill the mob in case of a rising, and his letters speak of laying violent hands on the King. On April 5, 1723, a Bill of pains and penalties against Plunket was brought up to the Lords from the Commons. On the 8th the Lords passed a resolution that he should be committed to the Tower, and he was lodged there "to be kept safe and close" under a warrant dated April 11. Probably before this he was in the custody of a messenger. The Act of pains and penalties (9 George I, c. 15), which passed the Lords April 29, enacted that Plunket should be kept in close custody during the King's pleasure, and should forfeit his lands and goods. He was allowed 5s. a day for his subsistence (*Tower Records*, iii, 194). On August 27, 1723, there is a warrant for John Deperthe to have access to Plunket in the presence of an officer, for what object does not appear, but a person of this name, a wine merchant of Bury Street, had been examined about Plunket's case by a Committee of the House of Commons, November 17, 1722. On October 7, 1723, Plunket made the following application that the rigour of his confinement might be relaxed (*State Papers, Domestic*, George I, Bundle 45).

"Sir, My head is and has bin for sometime much out of order which I take to be intirely owing to my long and close confinement and still in irons; to walk now and then with my warder on his leads is the soverainest remedy I can have.

"As such a favour has bin granted to prisoners even convicted of high treason, I hope you wont denye to Sir Your most humble servant J. Plunket.

"from the Tower, O^{br} the 7th 1723."

The Government continued the allowance for Plunket's subsistence until his death in 1738. On August 21 in that year he was removed from the Tower to be operated upon for stone, and on the 24th he died. On February 7, 1743-4, there is a Treasury order to pay £126 to Mr Cheselden for attending Plunket, and cutting him for the stone (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub nom.; *Report of Committee of House of Commons, Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 325 et seq.; *Proceedings as to Plunket*, ib. 460-469; *Tower Records*, iii, 183, 192-195; *Reports of Committees of House of Commons, 1715-1735*, i, 228; *Cal. Treasury Papers, 1742-5*, p 450; and see entries in the Diary, pp. 41 and 88-99, *passim*). Plunket is said to have been repellently ugly (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

In a letter of September 25, 1722 amongst the *State Papers, Domestic* (George I, Bundle 36), Plunket is described as "a middle sized man, pretty thick set and fat, having a round smooth face, greyish eyes, his eyebrows inclining to red, a full nose and a double chin." Williamson had Plunket's portrait painted (entry, December 12, 1727).

SHERIFFS OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX AND LAYER'S EXECUTION

(Page 42, note (1) *supra*).

The East Wharf Gate was at the east end of the Tower Wharf. The boundary of the east side of the Tower was in the County of Middlesex; Tower Hill, on the west side, was in the City. A prisoner delivered to the Sheriff of Middlesex at the East Wharf Gate was beheaded on Little Tower Hill on the north-east of the Tower, or if to be hanged, as in Layer's case, was taken to Tyburn. The bars on Tower Hill, referred to in the entry of May 17, 1723, were on the west side beyond the Spur (see Frontispiece and compare the account of the execution of Charles Radclyffe under December 8, 1746; as to the Spur, see p. 33, note (3) *supra*). Upon Layer's conviction and sentence, counsel for the Crown moved that the execution might be in Middlesex, though the treason was committed in Essex, on the ground that the chief design of executing such criminals was by way of example to deter others from committing treason. The Court being satisfied upon reference to precedents that it had the power, made a rule to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the prisoner to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and another rule to the Sheriffs to execute the prisoner at Tyburn (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 321). The two Sheriffs of London together constituted the Sheriff of Middlesex (see p. 133, note (4)). Doran relates (*London in the Jacobite Times*, i, 429) that on leaving the Tower, Layer said to Williamson: "Colonel, I will die like a man," to which Williamson replied: "I hope Mr Layer you will die like a Christian."

DUKE OF NORFOLK

(Page 42, note (2) *supra*.).

Thomas Howard 8th Duke of Norfolk (1683-1732) was committed to the Tower October 27, 1722, on suspicion of high treason in connection with Atterbury's plot, to be kept safe and close, his servants John Jauncey and John Robinson to be with him (*Tower Records*, iii, 189). He was accused of corresponding with Jernegan (or Jerningham) the Pretender's agent in Flanders, the letters intended for the Duke being addressed to "Mrs Jones" (*Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 342, 416-421). Upon the application of the minister, October 26, 1722, under the suspension of Habeas Corpus Act, 9 George I, c. 1, for the consent of the House of Lords to the Duke's detention, the motion was carried, though opposed by peers whose protests are recorded in the Journals under six heads (*Lords Journals*, xxii, 26-28). The evidence was not sufficient to secure a conviction and upon the passing of the act for Bishop Atterbury's banishment in May, 1723, the Duke was discharged on bail (see entries in the Diary May 25 and 28, 1723). On October 26, 1722, Williamson writes to the Secretary of State (*State Papers, Domestic*, George I, Bundle 37):

"Norfolk House, Oct. 26, 1722. The Dutches of Norfolk has chose (rather than be confined with the Duke) to lye from him, so that her Grace does not see him but in my presence. I allow one vallet de Chambre to attend his Grace, who I confine within the limits of our view, so that I think I am very secure, not only of the person of the Duke but by the methods I shall be careful to take, I hope to prevent all sort of comerce which he might otherwise have with the enemy. He seems to acquiesce with the methods I take, & is easy in his confinement."

The Duke seems to have been in his own house in Williamson's custody before his committal to the Tower. The letter is dated the day before the warrant to commit the Duke to the Tower and three days before Williamson's appointment as Deputy-Lieutenant.

EARL OF SUFFOLK

(Page 45, note (1) *supra*.)

Edward Howard, 8th Earl of Suffolk (1671-1731), succeeded to the title in 1722. Certain persons holding Protections (from arrest in civil proceedings) signed by the Earl had been arrested, and the arresters had been imprisoned by order of the House of Lords for breach of privilege. Upon enquiry it appeared that Protections signed by the Earl had been sold by one of his servants. The servant was ordered to be fined, imprisoned, and pilloried. The Earl was committed for granting Protections "in breach of the standing orders and to the dishonour of the House as likewise to the obstruction of public justice," and was ordered to pay the fees of the persons who had been wrongly imprisoned (*Lords Journals*, xxii, *passim*; Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, viii, 414).

EARL OF MACCLESFIELD

(Page 45, note (2) *supra*.)

Thomas Parker, Earl of Macclesfield (1666?-1732), Lord Chancellor from May, 1718, to June, 1725, was impeached of corruption in connection with the Masterships in Chancery, found guilty May 25, 1725, and sentenced to pay a fine of £30,000, and to imprisonment in the Tower until payment (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Howell's State Trials*, xvi, 767). As to his discharge, see entry of July 22, 1725.

PRISAGE OF WINE AND PROVISIONS

(Page 51, note (4) *supra*.)

The reference in the Diary to Coke's Reports should be to Part xii, p. 35. The "Act of Parliament 9th of Richard the 2^d No. 30," to which Williamson refers, is in fact a petition by the Commons, of that year (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii, 212b), complaining that whereas no impositions, charges, or customs can be granted without their advice and assent, yet the Constable of the Tower pursuant to

Patent takes " par colour de son office prises et custumes de Vynes, Ostres [oysters], Moskles [mussels], Jounkes [rushes] et des autre choses et vitailles venant par eawe a la dite Citée [London]," and they pray the King to revoke the Patent. The answer to the petition seems to be the Statute 11 Richaid II, c. 7, by which such grants are invalidated, but this particular grant was continued or renewed later. Taylor the water poet, who was Keeper of the Tower Bottles from 1605 to 1619, or thereabouts, says that the custom had existed from the beginning of the fourteenth century, but a charter of 1 Edward III (March 6, 1327), granted by consent of Parliament, expressly forbids the Constable of the Tower to " make any prizes by land or by water of victual or other thing whatsoever of the men of the said city [London] nor of any other coming towards the said city or going thence neither shall or may arrest or cause to be arrested the ships or boats bringing victuals or other such like goods to or from the said city " (*Birch, Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London*, ed. 1887, p. 55). In his *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* Taylor tells us there were two bottles or bombards of leather, holding between them six gallons, and he filled them from every ship that brought wine up the Thames and placed the contents in the Lieutenant's cellar. In another passage he refers to 3 gallons and 1½ gallons a ship, and the total levy for a year as 9 hogsheads at the most.

Apostrophizing the Bottles, Taylor says:

" I that for your sakes have given stabs and stripes,
 To give you suck from hogsheads and from pipes,
 I that with pains and care you long have nurs'd,
 Oft fill'd you with the best and left the worst.

* * * * *

With bastart, sack, with allegant and Rhenish
 Your hungry maws I often did replenish;
 With malmesy, muscadel and Corsica,
 With white, red, claret and liatica,
 With hollock, sherry, malaga, canary,
 I stufft your sides up with a sursa rara¹
 That though the world was hard my care was still
 To search and labour you might have your fill."

¹ "Sursa rara" stands for "Certiorari," a writ by which the record of proceedings in a cause is brought up from an inferior to a superior court. The poet seems to use the word as equivalent to "certificate."

During the Lieutenancy of Sir Gervase Helwys (1613–1615), the merchants waged law with him in the Exchequer, being aggrieved because they thought the bottles were made bigger than they were formerly wont to be, and the Lieutenant had been overthrown but for witnesses brought by Taylor who proved the quantities of the bottles for fifty years past (*Works of John Taylor the Water Poet*, ed. Charles Hindley, 1872).

Amongst the Lansdowne manuscripts is a document (No. 155, fol. 54) specifying the fees pertaining to the Constable of the Tower in 4 Richard II. These include: “for every galley that cometh two roundlettes of wyne and of all mannere of dainties a great quantitie . . . of every shippe that cometh with wynes, two bottells, either of them conteyning a gallon, one before, th’ other after the maste” (Bayley, *History of the Tower*, Part ii, Appendix xcvi). It does not appear whether this document was put in evidence in the merchants’ suit against the Lieutenant.

By a warrant dated in 1679 (*Tower Records*, v, 2), the Lieutenant, whose name was Cheke, purported to grant the wine and oyster duty to his servant, John Marshall, and received no doubt a consideration in money or money’s value. A like warrant was issued by the succeeding Lieutenant, Sir Edward Hales, but limited to the oyster duty (*Ib.* 6). Whether these warrants were acted upon does not appear. Hales was dismissed at the Revolution (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *sub nom.*). Williamson was no doubt well advised not to attempt to enforce such a claim.

As to the right of the Crown to the prisage of wine—one cask out of ten and two out of twenty or more—from every cargo of imported wines, see Mr Hubert Hall’s *History of the Customs-Revenue in England*, *passim*.

It will have been noticed that sometimes the Constable, sometimes the Lieutenant, is referred to as entitled to the benefit of the patent. The grant was made originally to the Constable. When the active duties of governor were performed by a Lieutenant he received the perquisite. The value was no doubt taken into consideration in the price the Lieutenant paid for his office. Sir George More, who succeeded Sir Gervase Helwys as Lieutenant in 1615, sold the post to Sir Allen Apsley in 1617 for £2,400 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). The Constable’s consent would be required, and part of the consideration would be received by him. If there were no Constable, the Sovereign would stand in his place.

THE TOWER MENAGERIE

(Page 73, note (6) *supra*.)

The Tower Menagerie was by the Lion Gate at the south-west entrance and existed from the reign of Henry III to the year 1831, when most of the animals were removed to the Zoological Gardens (Lord de Ros, *Memorials of the Tower*, ed. 1867, 309). It has been said that the collection at the Tower formed the nucleus of that in the Zoological Gardens (Davy, *Tower of London*, 71), but in fact the latter contained 627 animals in 1829, and was greatly increased in 1830. The King presented the Tower collection to the Zoological Society in 1831, and the animals were all cleared by the spring of 1832; no list of them is given in the Society's reports. E. T. Bennett's *Tower Menagerie* enumerates the species in the Tower collection in 1828, though it is doubtful whether a good many of them came to the Gardens (Scherren, *The Zoological Society of London*, pp. 36, 44, 57, 58). Britton and Brayley, *Memoirs of the Tower of London*, p. 362, say that in 1830 the Tower collection included upwards of sixty specimens of beasts and birds. There is an interesting account of the collection as it existed in the middle of the eighteenth century in *An historical description of the Tower of London and its curiosities*, London, 1754, pp. 14-28. At that period sixpence was charged for entrance to the wild beasts. In July, 1719, John Martin, "Keeper of the lions to the King," alleges in a petition to the Treasury that the Keeper for 100 years past had 18d. a day for the office and 12d. a day for provision for each lion, lioness, and leopard; that there are now nine lions and leopards besides other creatures, and he has not had a penny allowed him for their charge, whereby he is very much impoverished. The petition was rejected on the ground that Martin had accepted the office exclusive of the fees and allowances (*Cal. of Treasury Papers*, 1714-1719, p. 470). On January 20, 1727-8, Henry Lowman sends the butcher's bill of meat delivered for feeding the leopard, tiger, and lion from June to December, 1727, at Kensington Palace before they were sent to the Tower. The quantity was less than what Sir John Eyles said he gave them, which was 6 lb. of meat per diem each (*Ib.* 1720-1728, p. 505). On October 16, 1739, there was a sign manual for a bill to pass the great seal "to constitute John Ellys Keeper of the lions, lionesses and leopards in the Tower *loco* John Martin gent. deceased,

with the fee of 7s. 6d. per day" (*Ib.* 1739—1741, p. 206). In *The Foreigner's Guide through London and Westminster*, 1730, we are told (p. 90) that upon entering the Tower we see on our right hand the figure of a lion painted over a door where they show some lions, panthers, tygers, eagles, vultures, etc., to see which the fee is 3d. The same authority mentions the following entrance fees to other parts of the Tower: Mint, 3d.; Jewel house, 2s. 6d.; Horse armoury, 3d.; Small armoury, 3d.; Grand storehouse, 3d. We are further informed that on going out we are expected to give the warder something for his attendance.

CURE OF HYDROPHOBIA

(Page 81, note (1) *supra*).

Dr Mead, the King's Physician (see entry February 23, 1722–3), in his *Mechanical Account of Poisons*, 3rd ed., 1745 (Essay III, "Of the mad dog") mentions a remedy for hydrophobia that he has used a thousand times in the course of about thirty years. This remedy includes immersion in cold water, very cold springs being preferable to salt water. He says that it is the pressure of the water upon the surface of the body, and the constriction the cold makes upon the fibres of the skin and the small tubes, which produce the good effect. The bathing ought to be continued for about a month, the period which the disease usually takes to develope. He mentions an authenticated case in Flanders in which an old man was cured of hydrophobia by being first held under water about four minutes, then taken out and dipped twice more, each time about a minute. Afterwards, being kept warm and laid over a barrel, he vomited up the water he had swallowed and recovered both his life and his right senses. "But," continues the doctor, "experiments of this kind are perhaps rather to be permitted than enjoined by physicians, for their own sakes, though it is certain that cures more dangerous than this are every day directed, but that is generally in cases where it cannot so evidently be known whether the patient dies by the remedy or by the disease." "At least," he adds, "there is more humanity in such proceeding than in stifling a miserable wretch between two feather beds, which, as I have been informed, is the practice in a neighbouring country and sometimes in our own."

RIOTS

(Page 92, note (4) *supra*.)

“ 1736. July 26. This and two or three following nights a great mob rose in Shoreditch and Spittlefields occasioned by some Irish labourers and weavers working at under rates. They cried: ‘Down with the Irishmen,’ broke the windows where they lodged and almost demolished two public houses kept by Irishmen—one in Brick Lane—in defence of which some firearms were discharged which killed a young man and wounded seven or eight. The Justices, Constables and Trained Bands not being able to quell them, a party of horse and foot soldiers were called in, on which and the committing six or seven to prison, they became quiet.—August 1. Mobs arose in Southwark, Lambeth and Tyburn Road and took upon them to interrogate people whether they were for the English or Irish, but committed no violence; several parties of horse grenadiers dispersed the mobs which were gathering in Ratcliffe Highway to demolish the houses of the Irish” (*Gent. Mag.*, 1736, 422, 485). A paper headed “a kind caution to rioters” containing clauses of the Riot Act was distributed by the beadle amongst the householders of some of the east-end parishes, and posted at Aldgate, Bishopsgate and several other public places (*Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. iv, 173).

“ 1736. The drinking spirituous liquors, geneva especially, was still carried on by the inferior classes of people in London to an immoderate and even alarming degree, as dangerous to their health as destructive to their morals; the petty shops where they were supplied with these intoxicating liquors being receptacles for the most abandoned of the human species. The retailers of this poisonous compound, called gin, set up painted boards promising the people that they might get drunk for a penny, dead-drunk for two pence, and have straw for nothing. Accordingly cellars with straw were provided for the repose of those who took the benefit of the invitation. An Act of Parliament was therefore passed prohibiting any person from selling spirits in less quantities than two gallons without taking out a licence for retailing them, under certain penalties (10 Geo. II, c. 17; see also 11 Geo. II, c. 26; 16 Geo. II, c. 8; 24 Geo. II, c. 40).” Noorthouck’s *London*, 337.

“ 1736. September 28—the time appointed for putting a stop to

the retailing of distilled spirituous liquors in small quantities—the persons who kept shop for that purpose began to make a parade of mock ceremonies for Madam Geneva lying in state, which created a mob about their shops, and the Justices thought proper to commit some of the chief mourners to prison. The signs also of Punch-houses were put in mourning, and lest others should express the bitterness of their hearts by committing violences, the horse and foot-guards and trained bands were ordered to be properly stationed" (*Gent. Mag.*, 1736, 550).

On February 1, 1736-7, the King's speech on the opening of Parliament called attention to the attempts in different parts of the nation tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to the late outrages by which the disturbers of public repose had endeavoured to render ineffectual some acts of the legislature (*London Gazette*, February 1, 1736-7).

THE GRAVESEND TILT-BOAT

(Page 98, note (2)).

So called from the tilt or cover under which the passengers sat. The exclusive right of ferry, or passage, from Gravesend to London, the Long ferry as it was afterwards called, was granted by Richard II to the inhabitants of Gravesend and Milton. The fare for each passenger, which had been $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the 21st year of Edward I, was now fixed at 2d., and this was the amount specified in the act 6 Henry VIII, c. 7, entitled "Acte concerning watermen on the Teamys." Further regulations are made by the Act, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 16, which recites that "the most part of boats and wherries used at this day been so shallow and tickle that thereby great peril and danger of drowning hath many times ensued." Tilt-boats are mentioned in the Act 1 James I, c. 16. The Act 11 and 12 William III, c. 21, refers to a court held by the Lord of the Manor of Gravesend called *Curia Cursus Aquæ*, or the Court of the Watercourse, relating to the ferry from Gravesend to London, and the barges, tilt-boats, or other boats using the ferry. By Act 10 George II, c. 31, the number of passengers in a tilt-boat is limited to forty, and a tilt-boat plying between London and Gravesend, is not to be of less than fifteen tons burthen. In 1737 the fare was raised to 6d. and about 1750 to 9d. From 1790 the passengers

voluntarily paid 1s. By a regulation of the Watermen's Company, any waterman swearing, or cursing, or reviling a passenger was liable to a fine of 2s. (Pocock, *History of Gravesend and Milton* (1797), 180, 231). The same writer (pp. 179-181) thus describes the tilt-boats: "Before the masts sat five rowers open and exposed to the weather and from the mast to the steersman at the stern were bales covered with a tilt and open at the sides. Under the tilt or slight deck sat the passengers who were accommodated every tide with clean straw laid in the bottom of the boat upon which was a large rug or blanket to cover themselves in cold or bad weather. With a fair wind and good weather the passage was extremely pleasant, but it was not to be recommended to ladies of great delicacy." Defoe describes the obstinate foolhardiness of the watermen who navigated the tilt-boats and seem to have taken pleasure in running risks in rough weather, often with fatal results (*The great law of subordination* (1724), 130-136). The parish registers of Gravesend and Milton contain records of disasters to tilt-boats in which as many as fifty people at a time were drowned (Pocock, 179, 180). The last tilt-boat, 'The Duke of York,' was withdrawn from the ferry in 1834 (Cruden, *History of Gravesend*, 521).

GENERAL HATTON COMPTON

(Page 104, note (3) *supra*).

According to Lord De Ros, Lieutenant-General Hatton Compton succeeded Lieutenant-General Cadogan as Lieutenant of the Tower in December, 1715, and held the post until April, 1741 (*Memorials of the Tower of London*, 323). Compton was in fact appointed Lieutenant of the Tower in 1713 (*Commissions at the Public Record Office*). It is shown by the entry in the Diary of January 12, 1740-1, that he died on that day.

Hatton Compton was the son of Sir Charles Compton, brother to James, 3rd Earl of Northampton, Constable of the Tower 1678-80 (*Jacob's Peerage*, vol. i, Table xxxviii, p. 504). Hatton was first cousin to George, 4th Earl, who was Constable from 1712 to 1715.

Notwithstanding the character Williamson gives him in the entry above referred to, General Compton was not wanting in generosity, for he presented, apparently as a gift, to the Duke

of Devonshire, a manuscript which has recently been described as one of the most precious documents of the Anglo-Saxon art of manuscript illumination. This was the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold* which dates from the tenth century. When asked to part with this document to the Earl of Oxford in exchange for other books, the Duke was "of the opinion that he could not in honour part with it without General Compton's leave, who gave it him; that he would ask him and if he gave his consent, he would send it to my Lord forthwith." Apparently General Compton's consent was not obtained for the manuscript is still at Chatsworth (*Diary of Humphrey Wanley*, Lansdowne MS. 771; see. fo. 84 and index). As to the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, see *Archæologia*, xxiv, 1-117.

SIR DANIEL LAMBERT

(Page 104, note (4) *supra*).

Sir Daniel Lambert (1685-1750), son of Daniel Lambert of Banstead, Surrey, was Alderman of the City of London in February, 1737; Sheriff, 1733-4; Lord Mayor, 1741; three times Member of Parliament for the City, and a Tory in politics. He was knighted February 18, 1744. He was a member of the Coopers' and Vintners' Companies. He married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Wilmot, and died, s.p., of a gaol fever caught at the Old Bailey, May 13, 1750 (*The Aldermen of the City of London*, published by the Corporation, 1908; Berry's *Surrey Pedigrees*, 98; *Some account of the family of Lambert of Woodmansterne, etc.*, by a Surrey antiquary, privately printed, 1886; H.C.M. Lambert, *History of Banstead* (1912), pp. 25, 258, with portrait of Sir Daniel).

CAPTAIN OF CARISBROOKE CASTLE

(Page 113, note (2) *supra*).

The *War Office Commission Book* (Public Record Office) contains the following entry under date June 20, 1727: "Adam Williamson, Esq., to be Governor of Carisbrook Castle and the Fortifications thereunto belonging in Our Isle of Wight." It will be noticed that Williamson describes himself as "Captain" of Carisbrooke Castle, and in the docket or list of commissions entered elsewhere in

the records (P. R. O.), he is so described. The establishment of the Island included a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Captains of Cowes, Sandgate, Yarmouth, and Carisbrooke respectively. The Governors of this period were Charles, Duke of Bolton, appointed in 1726; John, Duke of Montagu, in 1733; John, Lord Lymington, in 1735; Charles, Duke of Bolton, again, in July, 1742. The Duke of Bolton is described as "Governor and Captain of the Isle of Wight and Governor of Carisbrook Castle" (*London Gazette*, July 17, 1742). Williamson cannot have acted as governor at Carisbrooke having regard to his duties at the Tower. It seems probable that he held the office of Captain of the Castle, and acted by a deputy if there were any active duties to be performed.

THE HIGHLAND DESERTERS

(Page 113, note (6) *supra*).

'Lord Sempil's Regiment,' afterwards known as the 'Black Watch,' to which the 101 Highland deserters referred to in the Diary belonged, was originally composed of six independent companies raised in 1730 to keep order in the Highlands. The men were above the rank of the ordinary private, many of them being well connected, and it was no uncommon thing to see them riding to the exercise ground followed by servants carrying their arms and uniforms. Creed, a Justice of the Peace, who interviewed the deserters on their march, wrote to the Duke of Montagu referring to them as the "gentlemen highlanders." In 1739 the six companies, with other men then enlisted, were formed into the 43rd, afterwards called the 42nd, regiment. In the spring of 1743 the regiment received orders to march to London, and when some of the men protested at being taken away from Scotland, they were told that the King who had never seen a Highlander wished to review them. On April 30, the day the regiment arrived in Camp at Finchley, the King left London for Hanover. The Highlanders were reviewed by General Wade on May 14, and the Londoners flocked out to see the strange soldiers.¹

¹ The Southerner's idea of a Highlander at this period may be gathered from Marchant's account (*History of the Rebellion*, p. 213) of the gentleman at Derby, in December, 1745, who laughed to see these desperadoes, as he called them, pull off their bonnets and say grace before their meals, like so many primitive Christians.

It is said that Jacobite agents visited the camp and helped to persuade the Highlanders that they had been tricked, and that it was intended to send them to the Plantations. The men afterwards complained that many of them being as well born as some of their officers, they were never enlisted by them nor received any pay, but were desired to come to London only to be reviewed by the King and then return to Scotland, whereas they were afterwards told they were to be sold for slaves. At 1 a.m. on May 18, 109 men of the regiment deserted and under the leadership of Corporal Samuel McPherson set off to march back to Scotland, having threatened with their bayonets two officers who were sent to enquire the reason of their behaviour. Later in the same day sixty more deserted, but had only proceeded eight miles beyond Barnet when they were overtaken by three of their officers who prevailed on them to return, and they were pardoned. These sixty men, with the rest of the regiment, were immediately marched to Gravesend and embarked for Flanders. There was some anxiety as to the depredations the deserters might commit, but the 109 men marched northwards in good order, doing no injury, and entrenching themselves at night. In the *London Gazette* of May 17-21, 1743, the Lords Justices offer a reward, for their capture, of 40s. per man beyond the reward fixed by the Mutiny Act. Troops dispatched to bring them back found them entrenched at a place called Lady Wood, near Brigstock, in Northamptonshire, and after some parleying the mutineers surrendered unconditionally at 10 p.m. on May 22, and were marched back to London and confined in the Tower.

From this point Williamson takes up the story which may be supplemented by the following particulars. At a meeting of the Lords Justices, Whitehall, May 26, 1743, "Major-General Williamson, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, was called in and proposed to their Excellencies that as it would be impossible to lodge the prisoners in the warders' houses in the Tower, a storehouse where some old cannon and carriages are laid up may be cleared for their reception, and he received their Excellencies' directions for keeping them in safe custody, and for an allowance of bread, cheese and oatmeal to be made them during their imprisonment there." At a meeting of the Lords Justices held May 31, directions were given to summon a Court Martial to try the prisoners, Major-General Folliot to be president and only Field Officers to be summoned. Captain Munro, one of the officers who prevailed on the sixty men to return from Barnet, was called in and asked what reasons the

Highlanders alleged for their desertion. He said he never heard any complaints till after they met a recruiting party of Sinclair's Regiment, from which time they feared being sent to the West Indies and that was the cause they alleged for deserting. The soldiers were given to understand before they left Scotland that they were designed for foreign service. The Lords Justices ordered that Malcolm Macpherson and Samuel Macpherson, Corporals, and Donnell McDonnell, Piper, should be separated from the rest of the men (*State Papers, Domestic*, George II, Bundles 60, 61; D. Stewart, *Sketches of the character, etc., of the Highlanders*, i, 249 *et seq.*).

The following petition by the Highland deserters to the Lords Justices is amongst the *State Papers, Domestic*.¹

" To their Excellency's, the Lords Justices, Guardians of the Realm.

" The humble Petition of the Highland deserters, now prisoners in His Majesty's Tower of London.

" Most humbly sheweth:—

" That they were informed on their march, & also since they came to London, by some of the soldiers of Sinclair's Regiment & others, that they were actually to go to the West Indies & that their officers were to leave them so soon as they were embarked where they would every one die with the severe heat of the climate, which was the true reason of their desertion, and which they acknowledge to be a very great fault, & hope for your Lordship's mercy. After they had come to a full resolution of returning they stayed two nights & two days consulting the best methods for that purpose, and applied to major Creed a justice of the Peace, who promised to send to the Duke of Montagu for a pardon, & that they knew nothing of General Blakeney or the horse being near them; and as they are willing and desirous to follow their comrades to Flanders, and to serve His majesty King George to the last drop of their blood:

" They therefore most humbly pray, that your Lordships will be pleased to take compassion on them, and to order them to be embarked for Flanders where they hope to have an opportunity of retrieving their mistake by a sincere zeal for his majesty's service.

¹ Geo. II, B. 92. The petition is wrongly endorsed 1746 and is amongst the documents of that year.

" And your Lordships Petitioners as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc."

An engraving entitled "A view of the Highland deserters (being 101) as they were conducted under a strong guard of Horse and Foot to the Tower of London the 31st May, 1743" (Brit. Mus. *Maps*, xxiv, 23. s.) is reproduced on a smaller scale in Lord Ronald Gower's *Tower of London*, iii, 116. An inset to this engraving shows an officer, with his back to the observer, about to drop a hand-kerchief as the signal to fire at the execution. It appears that the number of men was reduced from 109 to 101 before they reached the Tower. It is said that at least one of them died during their sojourn in Lady Wood, and that a corner of land near it was lately known as the "soldiers' grave," but the ground has long been under the plough (Murray, *Guide to Northamptonshire and Rutland*, 1901, p. 43). Lady Wood is marked on the Ordnance Map about two miles to the east of Brigstock. The wood contains an earthwork which may be the entrenchment thrown up by the Highlanders. The story is almost forgotten in the neighbourhood.

The Irish Mint, where the Highlanders were confined, was in the space between the inner and outer wall on the east side of the Tower. A letter to the Constable from the Secretary to the Lords Justices dated June 9, 1743, mentions that several of the Highland prisoners are in a sick and weak condition occasioned by the closeness of their confinement, and directs that they be allowed to walk about within the walls, eight or ten at a time, for the benefit of the air, and the recovery of their health (*Tower Records*, iv, 3). A further letter, dated June 21, directs that an additional living room be provided for them (*Ib.*).

On August 20, 1743, there is an order of the Lords Justices to deliver the rest of the Highland prisoners to be transported to Minorca, Gibraltar, and the West Indies (*Tower Records*, iv, 4). The following notice appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: "September 6, 1743. The Highlanders in the Tower were escorted to Gravesend to be shipped for the following places: 30 for Gibraltar, 20 for Minorca, 20 for the Leeward Islands, 28 for Jamaica, and 38 for Georgia, which last had leave to marry and carry their wives with them" (*Gent. Mag.*, 1743, p. 495). The 38 men for Georgia do not seem to have been included in the order of Aug. 20. The remaining 98 men were evidently the 101 Highland deserters who marched into the Tower in May, less the three who had been shot.

Stewart (*Sketches, etc.*, i, 269) says that 200 of the deserters were ordered to serve in different corps abroad—that 50 were sent to Gibraltar, 50 to Minorca, 40 to the Leeward Islands, and 30 to Georgia. These numbers account for a good many more than the Highland deserters. Perhaps some ordinary criminals were transported with them.

COLONEL WILLIAM CECIL

(Page 115, note (3)).

In a minute of the French Foreign Office Colonel Cecil is described as "oncle de Lord Salisbury." According to Horace Walpole he was the Pretender's Secretary of State, and was concerned in transmitting his letter to the Duke of Argyle. Upon his examination at Westminster on February 26, Colonel Cecil said he had been unable to stir out of his chamber for three years past and denied everything. Papers found on him compromised Lord Barrymore, the Pretender's General, who was arrested in March, but, so far as appears, was not sent to the Tower. Colonel Cecil was bailed on May 11, 1744; see entry of that date. Upon the death of Lord Orrery in 1737, Colonel Cecil succeeded him as leader of the Jacobites in England. Lord Mahon doubts Cecil's discretion, and says that Walpole got secrets from him (Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 47, n., 409; Shield and Lang, *The King over the Water*, 404; *Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, i, 246; ii, 10; Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, ii, 103).

SIR HECTOR MACLEAN

(Page 119, note (4)).

Sir Hector Maclean (1703-1750), twenty-first Chief of MacLean, was born in France and brought up in Scotland by his kinsman Donald Malcolm of Coll, his father, Sir John MacLean, having forfeited the family estates. Hector lived in France from 1728 and came over to Scotland in May or June, 1745, with the intention of heading a rebellion before the arrival of Prince Charles Edward. He was arrested in Edinburgh, June 5, 1745, "being newly come from

France, on suspicion of bearing commissions in the French service and other treasonable practices." After examination by the Lord-Advocate and the Solicitor-General he was committed to the Castle on a charge of high treason, and a few days later sent to London and confined in Newgate. While in Newgate Sir Hector received an order from the Court of France, giving him unlimited credit which he made use of for the benefit of the French prisoners in London. Charles Edward, writing to D'Argenson November 4, 1746, refers to Sir Hector as then a prisoner in London, and one of those in whom he is chiefly interested. Sir Hector was released as a French prisoner in May, 1747, and returned to France. He obtained a colonelcy in the French army in 1748, and died in Rome in 1750 (J. P. MacLean, *History of the Clan MacLean*, 214, 221-224; *Gent. Mag.*, 1745, 330; *List of persons in custody, S. P., Domestic*, George II, Bundle 92; Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 430; Andrew Lang, *Pickle the Spy*, 154; *Companions of Pickle*, 223; *Ascanius, or the Young Adventurer*, ed. 1890, 131).

CHARLES RADCLYFFE AND JAMES RADCLYFFE

(Page 119, note (5) *supra*).

Charles Radclyffe (1693-1746) assumed the title of Earl of Derwentwater, though it had been extinguished by the attainder of his brother James, 3rd Earl, in 1716. In letters written by him from the Tower, January to June, 1746, Charles signs "Coll. (Colonel?). Radclyffe." He signs letters dated November, 1746, "Le Comte de Darwentwater," and a statement on the day of his execution, December 8, 1746, "Darwentwater" (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1746). He was found guilty of treason in 1716, but escaped from Newgate and lived in France and Italy for thirty years. In November, 1745, he was captured by the frigate "Sheerness," on board the French privateer "Esperance" (previously called the "Soleil"), bound for Scotland. With Radclyffe were his son James Clement and about twenty other Irish, Scotch, and French officers, and sixty men. The "Esperance" was taken into Deal from whence Radclyffe and his son were sent up to the Tower (*London Gazette*, November 26 and 30, 1745). The latter was believed to be the younger brother of Prince Charles Edward, and the mob threatened to tear him to pieces on the road. On arriving at the Tower Charles

Radclyffe said that he never expected to reach there alive. The son said he had heard of English mobs, but could not conceive they were so dreadful, and wished he had been shot at the battle of Dettingen (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 160, 161). Walpole observes: "For the young man, he must be treated as a French captive; for the father, it is sufficient to produce him at the Old Bailey, and prove that he is the individual person condemned for the last rebellion, and so to Tyburn" (*Ib.*). The elder Radclyffe is thus described in a memorandum found amongst the *State Papers (Domestic)*, signed "John Gordon," and dated December 4, 1745: "Charles Ratliffe, commonly called Lord Derwentwater, a man of midel stature, fatt, a rudy complexion, other ways faire, counted to be of a Boistrous temper, low company, but very charitable, especaly to papists and them of his owne way of thinking, but his pride and overbearing conduct made the pretender always keep him at a Distance in regard to his secrets." It was said that the Pretender regarded him "as one of the most zealous and loyal of his adherents" (*State Papers, Tuscany*, January 17, 1747, cited by Ewald, *Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart*, 1904 ed., p. 266). Mrs Thomson (*Memoirs of the Jacobites*, iii, 506), says that to his inferiors, the passion and pride of Radclyffe's character were so offensive that the warders of the Tower could be scarcely induced to give him their attendance. According to the newspapers "he behaved very ungentlemanly to Governor Williamson as also to Mr Sharpe [the Treasury Solicitor] for addressing a letter to him as Mr Radcliffe" (Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, ii, 215). It is not improbable that his mind had lost its balance; see letter June 5, 1746, *infra*. Radclyffe was lodged in Williamson's house where he occupied "the book-case room and the two beyond it" (see entry August 9, 1746).

On January 29, 1745-6 Charles Radclyffe writes to the Duke of Newcastle requesting that "Captⁿ Radclyffe may be allow'd to be att General Williamson's with me on account of the great expences we are att in this Dismal Separation." In the same letter he writes: "My Bad state of health obliges me to be Troublesome to your Grace. My Letter wou'd become to long if I was to mention every particular Disorder I feel. I hope your Grace will permit Dr Jerningham to come to me" (*State Papers, Domestic*). On February 24 the younger Radclyffe writes to the Duke: "This is to inform your Grace that I'm a foreigner born in Rome, and as Mister Sharp [the Treasury Solicitor] has been here to see the foreigners and

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forgott to see me, I take the Liberty to acquaint your Grace of it; and as being a Foreigner I expect to be putt upon the same footing with the rest of the officers born abroad, and therefore to be exchanged upon the next Cartell. I likewise beg of your Grace to Lessen my expences by taking away two Warders that attend upon me, who are of an expence that I cannot bear, being Totally Destitute of Money" (*Ibid.*). On April 14 the younger Radclyffe was allowed to go to France on parol, with a view to his exchange (see entry of that date). On his departure he was entertained at a great dinner by the Duke of Richmond, as a relative (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1891, ii, 16). On April 10 Charles Radclyffe writes to the Duke of Newcastle: "I look upon your Grace as a man of quality incapable of tolerating certain abuses in the confinement we suffer. One Sir Thomas Ianson, alias Janson has extorted a pretended fee from Capt. Radclyffe of ten guineas. The like sum he has had from me as a Lord and ten from Captain Radclyffe tho not a Lord. He has no right to any sort of fee.¹ Captain Radclyffe was allow'd on his Parolle to go in Town. He has no ways abus'd of that Liberty so that I must Desire of your Grace he may not be deprived of it. I must ask a favour for myself which is to walk and Break the air Like other Prisoners. I shall be very much oblig'd to your Grace" (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1746). On April 18 Charles Radclyffe reduced his expenses from seven to five guineas a week by living without suppers (see entry of that date). On April 21 he writes: "I give your Grace many thanks for the Liberty of Walking in the Tower but it happens to be of very little advantage to me Because we have but two officers that are able to move; several prisoners want them and they cannot go but with one att a time; therefor I beg Leave of your Grace to be Allow'd to walk with my Warders; it will be a great convenience to them officers and me." On June 5 he writes a letter under a sealed cover which Williamson forwards the same day to the Under-Secretary of State: "You will be no Dout supris'd att my Request to be Remov'd from the Tower to Newgate or the Fleet or the Marshalsy. The Two men that us'd to stare att me and whose Faces I was grown accustom'd to are taken from me. We are so free and easy that we did not start att any noise we made. This cruel separation, new Commers, not to

¹ Sir Thomas Ianson, or Janson, or Ponson as Williamson writes it, was Gentleman Porter; *see* entry April 18, 1746.

stay, makes my Life that was not very pleasant now become insuportable, so that I entreat your Grace to consent to my being Remov'd to a worse Prison not so Honourable nor Expensive" (*State Papers, Domestic*, June, 1746). Williamson writes to the Under-Secretary: "There likewise is a seal'd Let^r. from Mr Radclif who grows very troublesom."

Charles Radclyffe was brought to trial in the following November (see entries of November 21, 1746, *et. seq.*). On November 11, he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, signing himself "Le Comte de Darwentwater": "I Desire your Grace will permit lr. [lawyer] Garven to come to me, or, if he cannot, to send some other Lawyer he can Recommend to me. I desire also leave to see any body this Day and tomorrow morning (alone), for you know my Lord it is not fit every one should know what I may have to say to them. I Desire the use of pen and ink and that my Commission may be sent to me as is fit I should be the Bearer of it." On November 13 he writes: "I Believe yr. Grace's intention was that I should have the Liberty of seeing (Freely) those that can be serviceable or usefull to me on this Pressing and Extraordinary occasion. I Desire Leave for my sister and niece, Particularly Having Family affairs to discourse of, that they may be allow'd to come to me."

At the trial (see entry November 24, 1746) Radclyffe applied for a postponement to enable him to call two witnesses from Brussels to prove that he was not the person convicted of high treason in 1716, that being the only issue to be tried. According to Williamson the Court would not consent to a postponement unless the prisoner would swear he was not the same person (see entry, November 24, 1746). A reference to *Howell's State Trials* (xviii, 432) will explain this passage. It is clearly illegal to call upon a prisoner to swear to his innocence on a criminal charge, but the only issue being that of identity, Radclyffe had made an affidavit in support of his application for a postponement that two material witnesses on his part were abroad, and that he believed they would attend the trial if a reasonable time were allowed. The Court pointed out that if the prisoner could furnish reasonable grounds of belief that his application was anything more than a pretence to delay execution they would hear him and offered him the opportunity of putting in a further affidavit denying, if he could, that he was the person in question, but this offer was not accepted. The decision, however, was disapproved of, and in the King *v.* D'Eon (1 *William Blackstone's Reports*, 513, note), Lord Kenyon is reported

to have said with reference to the course pursued in Radcliffe's case: " How far that case was relished at the time, the public opinion of it has since shown. It has never been considered as a precedent or at all acted under." Lord Campbell says that though there was no doubt of the fact, the identity was not satisfactorily established by legal evidence and that the execution of Radclyffe was universally condemned and reflects disgrace upon Lord Hardwicke as the legal adviser of the Crown (*Lives of the Chancellors*, v. 108).

Williamson was called as a witness at the trial and it was his evidence that sent Radclyffe to the scaffold. In a contemporary account of the trial quoted in *Howell's State Trials* (xviii, 433, note) it appears that several witnesses were called who failed to indentify the prisoner as the person who escaped from Newgate in 1716. " Then a gentleman was called and as the book was handing him to be sworn, the prisoner very earnestly looking at him, asked the officer, What book that was he was going to be sworn on? The officer replied, On the New Testament. The prisoner replied, He is no Christian and believes neither in God nor Devil. The said gentleman, being examined, deposed that the prisoner since his confinement in the Tower had declared himself to be the same Charles Radcliffe who was condemned in the year 1715, and likewise told him in what manner he made his escape out of Newgate, in mourning, with a brown tye wig, when under sentence of death in that gaol. He was asked if the prisoner was drunk when he made this confession the witness said, No. He was then asked if he had been drinking himself when the confession was made; he answered, He never got drunk, when Mr. Radcliffe replied hastily, That some people would get drunk if at free cost." A similar statement is contained in *A genuine and impartial account of the remarkable life . . . of Charles Ratcliffe, Esq.*, by Gerard Penrice, 1747 (p. 94): " Several witnesses were called to prove the prisoner the identical person Charles Ratcliffe who received sentence 30 years before. But none of them could come up to the point till a great officer was sworn who depos'd that Mr. Ratcliffe, since his confinement in the Tower, had acknowledged to him when they had been drinking a glass of wine together that he was the same person. But Mr. Ratcliffe objected to this gentleman's testimony because he had confessed that he believed there was neither God nor Devil and it would be an absurdity to swear a man upon the Bible who had no faith in anything it contained. This however was overrul'd." A great officer who drank wine with Radclyffe in the Tower and professed unbelief in orthodox religious tenets could hardly be other

than Williamson, who called himself a Christian Deist (see Introduction p. 15). In Blackstone's report of the case (*W. Blackstone's Reports*, i, 2), Williamson is named as the witness. The fact gives point to Horace Walpole's story that upon Williamson's complaining that he could not sleep he was so haunted with rats, Lord Lovat replied "What do you say—that you are so haunted with Ratcliffes?" (*Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 265, 266).

After sentence of execution was passed Williamson lodged his prisoner for greater safety in the upper room at the north side of the Byward Tower (see entry November 24, 1746, and note "The Monmouth Tower," p. 219, *infra*). It does not appear where he was lodged from August 9 to this date (see entry August 9, 1746). On November 26 Radclyffe writes to the Duke of Newcastle: "The Time allow'd is short to Prepare for so great an affair as appearing before allmighty God. I know your Grace as a man of Birth and Humanity will not Refuse to Represent to His Majesty King George the great Distres I am in, the Precipitate Tryal I was forc'd to stand, my never having Done the Least thing against his Majesty's Government, my Being a Commission'd Officer in the service of France, taken at sea going to Ostend. I hope your Grace will be so good to order me to be remov'd to my old Lodging, Whereas by the Malicious information of General Williamson I am now in a very moist unwholesome Place." (*State Papers, Domestic*, November, 1746.)

Williamson received special directions from the Duke of Newcastle with regard to Radclyffe's execution which he acknowledged in the following letter (*State Papers, Domestic*, December, 1746):

Williamson to Stone (?), Under-Secretary of State. December 6, 1746.—"I shal punctually obey the Duke's orders and the directions you sent me, I expect the Sheriffs of Midx. here this afternoon, and shall regulate everything with them relating to Mr. Radclif for whose execution, I have just now received a Warrant to deliver him to them on Monday next."

The Diary gives an account of the execution; see entries December 6 and 8, 1746. The following is a copy of a paper written by the prisoner on the day of his execution and signed "Darwentwater": "I Die a true obedient and Humble Son to the Holy Catholick Apostolick Church, in Perfect Charity with all Mankind, a True well-wisher to my Dear Country that never can be Happy without Doing

Justice to the Best and most Injur'd King. I Die with all the Sentiments of gratitude Respect and Love For the King of France, Lewis the well Belov'd (a glorious name). I recommend to his Majesty my Dear Family. I Heartly Repent of all my Sins and have a Firm confidence to obtain mercy of Almighty God through the merits of his Blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord to whom I Recommend my Soul. Amen. In the Tower the 8 of Dec. 1746" (*State Papers, Domestic*, December, 1746). Williamson was unaware of the existence of this document (see entry December 8, 1746).

CLEMENT McDermot

(Page 119, note (6), *supra*).

This prisoner is named in the *London Gazette* amongst the officers taken in the "Esperance" as "Clement MacDermot, Equerry to the person called Lord Derwentwater" (*Gazette*, November 30, 1745). In a letter of April 12, 1746, written by Charles Radclyffe to the Duke of Newcastle, the writer asks permission for "MacDermont and Vogler who have allways waited on my son as well as on me," to accompany the younger Radclyffe to France (*State Papers, Domestic*, April and May, 1746). James Vogler was taken to the Tower by Lieut.-Colonel Dury, the warrant to receive him bearing date December 9, 1745 (*Tower Records*, iv. 7). Probably McDermot was one of the three prisoners born in France and allowed to go there on parole with young Radclyffe in April 1746 (see entry April 14, 1746).

YOUNG GLENGARRY (PICKLE THE SPY).

(Page 119, note 7, *supra*).

Young Glengarry, as he was usually called, was Alastair Ruadh McDonnell, the elder son of the chief known as Glengarry. In the list of officers captured in the "Esperance," given in the *London Gazette* of November 30, 1745, he appears as "Alexander MacDonald, Capt." Andrew Lang has identified him as "Pickle the Spy." Alastair's younger brother Æneas served in Prince Charles Edward's army and was shot accidentally in January, 1745-6 (Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 441). On December 20, 1745,

Horace Walpole writes: "We again think that we have got the second son [of the Pretender] under the name of Macdonald" (*Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 164). Amongst the *State Papers, Domestic*, George II., Bundle 92, is a "List of persons engaged in the late rebellion, 1746," which includes "McDonald of Glengarry Jun^r., in the Tower." Murray of Broughton in his *Account of the Highland Clans*, written from the Tower in August, 1746, for the information of the Government, says of the Macdonalds of Glengarry: "Their chief is an indolent creature and entirely given up to drink. He did not appear in the late rebellion, his following being commanded by his second son till some days after the battle of Falkirk, when he was shot by accident, and after that headed by his cousin Lochgarry; but how far his procedure, which occasioned his house to be burnt, may render him liable to forfeiture, I can't say; yet supposing him legally possessed, could his son, now prisoner in the Tower, be prevailed upon to quit the service he is in, it would prove an effectual method to civilise that clan" (Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 441). Old Glengarry was arrested after Culloden and lodged in Edinburgh Castle. He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity in July 1747 (20 George II, c. 52), but released in October, 1749.

Alastair held a commission in the French regiment of Royal Scots Guards and early in 1745 was engaged in the intrigues of Murray of Broughton. He was specially favoured by Charles Edward who names him in a letter of November 4, 1746, as one of the three prisoners in London in whom he takes a warm interest (Lang, *Companions of Pickle*, 223). Young Glengarry went from Scotland to France in May, 1745, with a packet subscribed by several of the Highland chiefs desiring the Prince not to make an attempt without foreign assistance. He saw Sir Thomas Sheridan in Paris and told him his business, but Sir Thomas would not let him know where the Prince was and denied that he knew anything about him. The Prince sailed for Scotland without receiving the packet (Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, iii, 120). In November, 1745, Young Glengarry was captured on board the "Esperance" on his way to Scotland whither he was conveying a detachment of the Royal Scots, and a picket of the Irish brigade (Lang, *Pickle the Spy*, 150). In January, 1745-6, Alastair was writing from the Tower to Waters, a banker in Paris, asking for money (*ib.*) and it appears from a letter of his written in 1749, to the Cardinal Duke of York, that while he was in the Tower the Court of France had supplied him with un-

limited credit as a Highland chief, by means of which he provided for the wants of poor prisoners, "several of whom had it not been for our timely assistance had starved" (*ib.*, 154). In a letter of October 17, 1747, cited by Andrew Lang from the *State Papers*, William Baillie writes to Major Macdonald that young Glengarry "has frequently and seriously reflected on the many good advices given by you and Major White when he was prisoner in the Tower to abandon that party and the service of France. I am thorowly convinced that he is determined so to do if it is agreeable to the Ministry" (*The Companions of Pickle*, 225).

Williamson seems to have had trouble with this prisoner and writes to Mr. Stone, the Under-Secretary, on September 9, 1746: "To the complaint I made to you of Mr. McDonald's behaviour he has excus'd himself by giving it a more favourable turn and expresses a humillity and concerne for it in such a manner that I desire to forgive him and that you would be so good as to take no further notice of it. I will keep him safe and have no more to do with him" (*State Papers, Domestic*, September, 1746). In July, 1747, Alastair had been released from the Tower under the Act of Indemnity. In July or August, 1749, he was in London in great pecuniary distress. In the following December he was said to have plenty of cash and was accused of getting part of the treasure buried at Loch Arkaig by Murray of Broughton during the Rebellion. In 1748 or 1749 Alastair had offered information to the English Government (*Pickle the Spy*, 155-6, 163). He died in 1761. As to his identity with Pickle the Spy, see Andrew Lang, *Pickle the Spy*, and *The Companions of Pickle*.

ARCHIBALD STEWART

(Page 120, note (1) *supra*).

ARCHIBALD STEWART was Provost of Edinburgh in September, 1745, when the city was surrendered to Prince Charles Edward. In the following November, on coming to London to attend to his duties as a member of Parliament, he was arrested and placed in the custody of a messenger, and on November 27 the arrest was reported to the House, and his detention sanctioned. He was examined by the Privy Council, and a warrant of December 12 directed him to be committed to the Tower to be kept safe and close. After three months his close imprisonment was relaxed, but he was

detained in the Tower until January, 1746-7, when he was released on bail to appear and take his trial before the High Court of Judiciary in Scotland. He was excepted by name from the benefit of the Act of Indemnity of 1747, and was tried in July of that year on the charge of neglect of duty and misbehaviour in his office of Lord Provost. In November he was found not guilty and discharged. (*Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 863; *Commons Journals* xxv, 22; *Tower Records* iv, 7). At the date of Stewart's committal to the Tower the turning point of the rebellion had been reached. The rebels had entered Derby on December 4, and retired northwards two days later.

THE MARSHALSEA PRISON

(Page 120, note (4) *supra*).

The prison referred to was the Prison of the Marshalsea of His Majesty's Household, and was used for debtors and for persons charged with contempt of His Majesty's Court of the Marshalsea, the Court of the King's Palace at Westminster, and the High Court of Admiralty, and also for Admiralty prisoners under sentence of Courts-martial; see the Act 5 and 6 Victoria c. 22, by which this prison was abolished. It was the second of the five great prisons in the time of Elizabeth, and came next to the Tower (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, sub "Marshalsea"). Some shocking abuses and cruelty to prisoners here were disclosed by the report of a committee appointed in 1729 (*Commons Journals* xxi, 376). The prison stood between the Mermaid Inn and Ax and Bottle Yard, now King Street, Southwark (Besant, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, 606), and must be distinguished from the Prison of the Marshalsea of the Court of King's Bench which stood near it, and was usually called the King's Bench Prison.

PRIVATE SOLDIERS IMPRISONED IN THE TOWER

(Page 120, note (5) *supra*).

It has been said that between 60 and 70 prisoners taken at Culloden in 1745 [1746?] were crowded together on the moist and reeking

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earthen floor of the Wakefield Tower, where many died, others being sent to slavery in the West Indies (Harper, *The Tower of London*, 1909, pp. 100, 105, 176; Davy, *The Tower of London*, 1910, p. 49). I have not discovered the authority on which this statement is based. So far as appears by the Diary the only private soldiers imprisoned in Williamson's time were the Highland deserters (*see entry May 31, 1743*), and the 17 men of the Irish-French Regiment (*see entry December 14, 1745*). According to Mrs Thomson (*Memoirs of the Jacobites*, iii, 414), of 800 prisoners brought to London in June, 1746, about 200 were left at Tilbury, and 600 were deposited in the various prisons of the metropolis. Further on (p. 416), the same lady says: "The prisons were crowded with captives; the noblemen alone were committed to the Tower; even two of the Scottish chiefs were sent to Newgate; the officers were committed to the New Gaol, Southwark, the common men to the Marshalsea." The *Gentleman's Magazine* under date June 21, 1746 (p. 326), tells us that "several ships with rebel prisoners on board came up the river, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, Mr Murray, and another person were committed to the Tower, two of the chiefs to Newgate, the officers to the Marshalsea, and about 600 common men to the new gaol, Southwark. About 200 were left at Tilbury Fort." In December, 1746, the papers reported that there were nearly 400 Scottish rebels cooped up in Tilbury Fort, and that most of them were transported to the Plantations (Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times* ii, 226). A statement of the numbers and as to the disposal of the prisoners, taken from the *State Papers, Domestic*, (July, 1746), shows that the above figures are not entirely correct. The document, a minute of the Privy Council, is as follows:

"Mr. Sharpe reported, That the Prisoners taken at, or after the Battle of Culloden, & sent from Scotland, by Sea, were disposed, in the following manner, viz, Seventy Nine (most of them officers) in the Gaol of Southwark, 288, in Tilbury Fort, and upwards of 200 remaining on board the Transports in the River.

"Their Lordships consider'd what might be proper to be done with regard to the Common Men, that were taken in Arms, and are prisoners on account of the Rebellion.

"An Order of Council dated December 13, 1715 (for disposing of the prisoners taken at Preston, by drawing Lots, and reserving one man in Twenty, on whom the Lot should fall, to be tryed) was read,

together with an Account of the Proceedings that were had there-upon.

" That proper persons should be immediately appointed to inspect and examine the Lists of the Several Prisoners, sent by His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, from Scotland, for being concerned in the Rebellion, and also of those, confined in any of the Gaols in the Northern Counties on Account of the said Rebellion, and to return a List of such of them, as are Gentlemen, or Persons of note, and of such, as have distinguish'd themselves, by any extraordinary Degree of Guilt, or of indecent Behaviour, since their Commitment, and that immediate Directions be given for the prosecution, & Tryal, of all such persons

" And that, with regard to the Remainder of the said prisoners, Their Lordships are humbly of opinion that a like Order of Council be made as that above mention'd of Dec. 13. 1715.

" The papers, transmitted by H.R.H. The Duke, relating to Lord Lovat, to be sent to the Attorney, & Sollicitor General."

In August, 1746, it appears that there were 72 prisoners on board the "Pamela," a small vessel, at Woolwich, that they were very ill, some with malignant fever, and that they were landed at Tilbury Fort (J. M. Forbes, *Jacobite Gleanings from State Manuscripts*, 34). In September it was reported that there was great sickness amongst the rebels in Tilbury Fort (*ib.* 35). In September and October there were 430 prisoners at Tilbury and on four transports in the Thames (*ib.* 43). On December 13 the Duke of Newcastle writes to the Commissioners of the Navy: "Your letter received enclosing extract of letter from Captain Massy, commanding officer at Tilbury Fort, relating to keeping the prisoners there clean. It seems to be very odd that he should want an order for allowing the wards to be cleaned and attending the sick, and I do not understand what authority can be wanted for that purpose. . . . I am sorry to hear from persons who have been at Tilbury and on board the transports, that the prisoners who are in the former place are not near so unhealthy [sic] as those on the transports" (*ib.* 36 and cf. p. 231, *infra*). See also as to the state of the prisoners at Tilbury, Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, i, 180-182; iii, 14, 29, etc., 157-8. As Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury (see entry May 10, 1742) Williamson was no doubt nominally responsible for the arrangements there, but he was kept far too busy at the Tower at this time to enable

him to take any active part in the government of Tilbury Fort (and see entry of February 7, 1743-4). The "Irish or French prisoners" who caused so much trouble, referred to in Williamson's letter to the Constable of October 5, 1747 (*Introduction*, p. 16), seem to be identical with the officers and men of the "Irish-French Regiment" referred to in the entries of December 14, 1745, and January 25, 1745-6.

EARL OF CROMARTY

(Page 121, note (2) *supra*).

George Mackenzie, 3rd Earl of Cromarty, who only joined in the rebellion when Charles Edward had begun his march into England, was taken prisoner at Dunrobin Castle April 15, 1746, the day before Culloden, and carried to Inverness. Soon after, he was sent to the south with Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, in the "Exeter" man-of-war, and up the Thames to the Tower in the "Chatham" yacht. The three lords entered the Tower from the land side, and not by the Traitors' Gate, on May 29, and Cromarty was lodged in the Bloody Tower (entry in the Diary May 29, 1746; *London Gazette* May 27; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1746, p. 271; *Historical Description of the Tower of London*, 1754, p. 7). The Secretary of State's warrant for committal of the Earl of Cromarty, the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino "for high treason in levying war against His Majesty, and to keep them safe and close," is dated May 27, 1746. On June 22 a warrant authorized Sir Edward Hulse and Dr Wilmot to attend Lord Cromarty "during his indisposition" in the presence of the Constable, the Lieutenant, or the Deputy-Lieutenant (*Tower Records* iv, 14, 18). In a joint representation made to the Government by Lords Kilmarnock and Cromarty, June 22, it is said: "Lord Cromarty had taken steps to act for the Government in concert with Mr. Forbes, Lord President. His son was to raise a company for the Government, but was refused nomination of subaltern officers in the company, as others had. Lord Fortrose was to name them. This was the occasion of my Lord's taking his unhappy and rash resolution" (*State Papers, Domestic*, June, 1746). Lady Cromarty was permitted to see her lord in Williamson's presence on July 1 (entry of that date). The three lords and thirty-seven other prisoners engaged

in the rebellion were tried under a special commission of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery for the county of Surrey, issued pursuant to the Act 19 George II c. 9. On June 23, 1746, the grand jury found true bills against Cromarty, Kilmarnock and Balmerino, which bills were removed by *Certiorari* into the House of Lords. All the peers were summoned to attend, and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, was appointed Lord High Steward, or "Steward of Great Britain," as the writ (July 28) says, for the special purpose of presiding at the trial. On June 27 the House resolved that the three lords be tried on July 28, and that the trial should take place in Westminster Hall; according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the House itself would have been too close at that time of year, but the trial of the rebel lords in 1715 took place in Westminster Hall in the month of February. On June 30 there is a warrant to permit John Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury, and Richard Wright his clerk, to have access to the three lords from time to time (Diary, July 23, 27; *Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 44 *et seq.*; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Chambers, *History of the Rebellion*; *Tower Records*, iv, 14-18; *Gent. Mag.*, 1746, 327). On July 25 the Treasury Solicitor writes to the Duke of Newcastle:

"Tho' I have very strong and full Evidence against the 3 Lords sufficient to Convict them yett I have not been able to gett any wittnesses to prove their hands so as to introduce the orders they signed as Evidence against them and if that be thought of consequence with regard to the having them communicated to the publick I must begg yor Grace will give directions to Genl. Williamson who hath seen them all write to attend for that purpose and to call in the mean time on the Attorney Generall or me to see them. All the Scotch Carlisle Officers have given notice to move tomorrow to putt off their Tryal for 3 weeks wch I have instructed the King's Councill to oppose to the utmost.

"I hope yor Grace will excuse my Entreating you to favor me with a couple of Ticketts for the Tryal of the Lords, were they to be had from any but Peers, or had I not been so entirely engaged in the Service of the Crown as to be wholly disabled from applying for them, I would not have troubled Yor Grace But unless yor Grace will be so good as to assist me herein tho' I have so great a share in the Care Trouble and Fatigue I shall not be able to introduce any one of my Family to be present." (*State Papers, Domestic*, July, 1746).

The trials began on July 28, when Cromarty and Kilmarnock pleaded guilty, and Balmerino, not guilty. The trial of Balmerino then proceeded, and he was found guilty by the unanimous verdict of 136 peers. On July 30 the three lords were brought into court and asked separately whether they had anything to say why judgment of death should not pass upon them according to law. Kilmarnock and Cromarty did not attempt a justification, but prayed for the King's clemency; if that should not be granted, they resigned themselves to their just fate. Balmerino raised a technical objection to the indictment, and asked that counsel might be assigned him to argue the point. This was granted, and the trial was adjourned until August 1, when Balmerino said he was advised by counsel that his objection was not arguable, and that he had only to acknowledge his crime and to ask their lordships to intercede with his Majesty for him. Sentence of death was pronounced on the three lords in the usual form (hanging, disembowelling, beheading and quartering). After the Sergeant-at-Arms had proclaimed that the King charged all manner of persons there present to depart thence "in the peace of God and of our Sovereign Lord the King," the Lord High Steward dissolved the commission by breaking in two his white staff of office, and the prisoners were carried back to the Tower. Williamson's bill for carrying the three lords to their trials (including their dinners), was paid by the Treasury (Diary, July 28, 30, August 1, October 21, 1746; *Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 441 *et seq.*, 329).

Amongst the Tower records are warrants of the following dates permitting visitors to see Lord Cromarty: August 1, 1746, Lady Cromarty and her three daughters to be alone with her lord from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.; Captain Roderick Mackenzie and Mr Adam Gordon, to be alone with the prisoner at reasonable hours; same date, Lord Elibank, to see the prisoner once; same date, the Revd Mr Chandler and the Revd Mr Grosvenor, to see the prisoner alone from time to time; same date, Sir John Gordon, Bart., Lady Gordon, his wife, and Mr Charles Gordon his brother, to see the prisoner alone (*Tower Records*, iv, 19-23). The substance of Cromarty's petition for the King's clemency is contained in a statement printed in 1746 (see *Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 525). Lady Cromarty personally presented a petition to the King at Kensington to pardon her husband (Diary, August 3). Horace Walpole relates that the King "was very civil to her, but would not at all give her any

hopes. She swooned away as soon as he was gone" (*Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 225, cf. Diary August 4).

At a meeting of the Privy Council held August 6, 1746,

"The Earl of Kilmarnock's Petition to the King humbly imploring His Majesty's Mercy, and the address of the Magistrates of the Town of Kilmarnock in His Lordship's Favour, were read

"The Petition of the Countess of Cromertie, presented by Her to His Majesty, was read, together with Lord Cromerties Case, annex'd to the said Petition, and several Letters, and Certificates in His Lordships Favour, refer'd to therein.

"Their Lordships are humbly of Opinion, that it is advisable for His Majesty, to extend His Mercy to one of the Three Lords, now under Sentence of Death, and that the Law should take Place, as to the other Two."

Lord Cromarty was reprieved on August 11. In a petition of "George Mackenzie, late Earl of Cromartie," and therefore presented after his sentence, it is alleged "that the petitioner and his wife and three of his daughters who attend the petitioner in the Tower of London are reduced to such an extreme degree of necessity and poverty that they are now without the common necessities of life." The petitioner prays for such relief as shall seem meet (*State Papers, Domestic*, George II, Bundle 68). Amongst the debts due to General Williamson's estate after his death, but "reckoned desperate," is one of £109.4.0 "due from the Treasury on account of Lord Cromartie for his support in the Tower" (see Introduction, p. 13). The rule seems to have been that unless the gaoler could extract subsistence money from a prisoner, he had no remedy. Where the prisoner had no means, a bargain had to be made with the Treasury beforehand, as in the cases of Kelly and Plunket (see p. 32, *supra*).

The following letters bearing on the imprisonment of the Earl of Cromarty and his son Lord Macleod are amongst the *State Papers, Domestic*, 1746:

Lady Cromarty to the Duke of Newcastle. June 21, 1746.—"I am under a necessity of giving Your Grace this Trouble as my Ld was taken ill last Thursday at the Tower & yesterday I had a message from General Williamson desiring I should apply for leave that He be

attended by Docter Wilmott and Sr Edward Hulse or either of them as there shall be occasion in the Presance of an Officer or General Williamson only, I therefore Intreat Your Grac's will be so good as to give leave accordingly before you go out of Town."

Lady Cromarty to the Duke of Newcastle. June 27, 1746.—“The cruel Situation unpremeditated mad infatuation has reduc'd me to, will I am perswaded plead my excuse with your Grace for presuming to entreat that your Grace would be pleas'd to make my most humble Suit to his Majesty for Leave to be admitted to see my poor unhappy Husband. My Brother has hitherto dissuwaded me from attempting to throw myself with my miserable Daughters at His Majestie's feet to implore his Royal Clemency, But it will not be possible for me to refrain much longer from doing it, if I am not allow'd admittance to my Husband whose case is most deplorable, & I believe I may add as compassionate, as ever any Case was of a person in his Circumstances. But I will not trouble your Grace with explications or details now, as there can be none offer'd but to show him a real object of Mercy for which there will be time hereafter Neither will I detain you with the distresses of an unhappy Family that is ready to perish, all I now mean to entreat is that your Grace would indulge your natural Humanity, & intercede for liberty to me & to my three Daughters to see their poor Father in the presence of whom you please or only two and two at a time if it is not to be otherwise allow'd May I not hope my Lord for this Mournfull indulgence specially now that I understand the indictments are laid, and a day fixt for the fatal Trial, and may I not presume to hope that your Grace will be pleas'd to let me know. Your Sentiments and Resolutions upon this my most humble Request which I have confin'd singly to my poor Husband tho' alas there is an unhappy Boy for whom my Heart likewise bleeds & for whose health I have just reason to fear, if he is continued thus closely confin'd & debarr'd the comfort of seeing his nearest Relations to enable him a little to support the Misfortunes that are before Him.

“I might my Lord say a great deal with Truth, but it does not now become me to encroach upon Your Grace's Leisure by repeating what Sensations of Humanity must suggest in behalf of a Wife & a Mother in my unhappy Situation fond of her Husband & fond of her Child, I shall therefore desire no other Advocate with Your Grace than your own Heart & I will not be afraid of its dictating any other answer to my Suit than what will tend to alleviate the very heavy

distress of My Lord Your Grace's Most obedient and Most Humble Servant J. CROMERTIE.

"Pall Mall, Fryday Night 11 o'clock (June 27)."

Lord Cromarty to the Duke of Newcastle. July 7, 1746.—"I think myself much oblidg'd to your Grace for your goodness in allowing my near Relations Lord Elibank and my Brother in Law Sir John Gordon admittance to see me, and humbly return you my thanks for the same. It was a great satisfaction to me, & shou'd think myself greatly indebted to your Grace If I cou'd be allow'd to see them once or twice a week, but if this is thought improper I shall be far from urging anything that is not approved of, for I am well assur'd from the experience I have of your Grace's goodness that every alleviation & comfort will be indulg'd me in my distrest Situation that is consistant with Humanity and Justice.

"There are I find several things necessary to be stated by me, before I can give my Relations such a vew of my case as they would require in order to their giving me their advice, and it would be extreamly difficult for me to methodize facts &c. without the assistance of a Solicitor May I therefore presume to beg that your Grace wou'd wt the first opportunity be so good as humbly to move his Majesty in my behalf that he wd be graciously pleas'd to grant leave of admittance to me for my Solicitor & Relation Mr. Adam Gordon Attorney at Law, that I may wt his assistance prepair that just State of the whole circumstance of my unhappy Case which is necessary before I can either take the opinion of my Relations or ask ye advice & assistance of Counsel.

"I beg pardon my Lord for giving yr Grace so much trouble and it was intierly owing to misinformation & Ignorance that I did not make my former application to your Grace, who's goodness in moving His Majesty to allow me to see my poor Wife, I have a most grateful sense of, and ever am with much respect," etc.

Lord Cromarty to the Duke of Newcastle. July 26, 1746.—"As I understood that my Brother Captn Roderick McKenzie is come from Dublin to see me, I beg your Grace will be so good as to move the King to be gratisously pleas'd to grant him that liberty."

Lord Macleod to the Duke of Newcastle. July 26, 1746.—"As I have not seen any of my Relations since my Confinment, I most earnestly

entreat your Grace to move his Majesty that my Mother & my Uncle Sir John Gordon may be permitted to see me at reasonable times. I Humbly beg your Grace's Pardon for this trouble."

General Williamson to Mr Stone. August 12, 1746.—“I send you, for his Grace's perusal Lord Cromerties speech to his Son, which he read solemnly to him, in my Presence, the day he was admitted to See him.

“His Grace has been pleased to Signe an Order for the admittance of one Gordon a young fellow, and a nonjuring Priest, who comes in the Gowne of a Minister of the Church of England, and may be one, but as he is a Non juror, I should hope that such a fellow should be kept from Lord Balmerino, to whome he comes daily, to confirm him in his Rebellious Principles.

“I thought it proper to acquaint you of this, all else is well and safe here.

“P.S. I think at Leste the non Jurors should not be suffer'd to be on the Scaffold with him.”

On August 26, 1746, the Constable of the Tower is notified of His Majesty's pleasure that Lord Macleod should be confined with his father (*Tower Records*, iv, 23). On October 8, Lord and Lady Cromarty, their son and daughters, were lodged together in a warder's house (Diary, entry of that date). On January 2, 1746–7, there is an order for Doctors Bamber, Nesbitt, and Middleton to be alone with Lord Cromarty, and on May 15, 1747, an order notifying His Majesty's pleasure that Lord Cromarty and his son may take the air within the Tower, attended by an officer (*ib. iv*, 24). Lord Cromarty was permitted to leave the Tower and lodge with a messenger February, 1747–8, and was pardoned, October, 1749, conditionally on his living where the King should direct. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *sub nom.* George Mackenzie, third Earl of Cromarty).

EARL OF KILMARNOCK

(Page 121, note (3) *supra*).

William Boyd, 4th Earl of Kilmarnock (1704–1746), joined the army of Charles Edward towards the end of the year 1745, and was taken prisoner at Culloden, having mistaken a party of dra-

goons for Fitz-James's Horse. He was taken to London and committed to the Tower with Lords Cromarty and Balmerino May 29, 1746 (*see note "Earl of Cromarty," p. 204, supra*). Kilmarnock was lodged in the Byward Tower (*see note "The Monmouth Tower," p. 219, infra*). The three Lords were tried under a special commission of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, and the trial was removed by *Certiorari* into the House of Lords. Kilmarnock pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to death August 1, 1746 (*see note "Earl of Cromarty," p. 206, supra*, and entries in the Diary of July 4, 7, 23, 27, 28, 30, August 1, 4, 1746).

The *Tower Records* contain a warrant dated June 13, 1746, for Andrew Stone (Under-Secretary of State) to be alone with the Earl of Kilmarnock. On June 22 Kilmarnock made the following representation to the Duke of Newcastle:

"Ld Kilmarnock humbly requests to have conversation either with Ye Duke of Argile or somebody from him, chooses his Grace, as having Ye Honor to know him, and ye Duke, knowing his connections, but desires ye Duke to pardon this Presumption in him.

"He fears he has nothing to offer for ye services of Government, at least that he knows is so, but would declare his own Inducements, and hopes to represent himself as an object of mercy, without presuming to plead mitigation of his Crime. Had conversation with Ye Ld President Forbes in Scotland. Mr. Forbes said he would write and advised him to have that Conversation with ye D. of Argile, or somebody from him." (*State Papers, Domestic*, June 1746).

On July 11 and 27 there are receipts signed "Kilmarnock" for £25 and £60 received from the Constable through Mr Fowler (the Gentleman Gaoler). There is a similar receipt of August 17 (after the attainer) for £15 signed by the late Earl "W^m. Boyd" (*Tower Records*, iv, 18). The following letter signed in the same manner was written by Kilmarnock after his sentence:

William Boyd, late Earl of Kilmarnock, to the Duke of Newcastle.
"My Lord Duke,—I beg leave to apply to your Grace that you would move his Majesty to allow His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, the Honourable Mr. Alexander Horne Chaplain to the Earl of Loudoun's Regiment, and Mr. Foster Preacher in the Old Jury to come to me and be with me alone at all seasonable hours.

APPENDIX

" I am with the greatest Esteem My Lord Duke Your Grace's most obedient humble Servant WILLIAM BOYD.

" Tower of London August 5th 1746.—To His Grace The Duke of Newcastle."

Mr James Foster, a Presbyterian minister, published an account of the behaviour of Lord Kilmarnock from August 1, the date of his sentence, to August 18, the day of his execution (*Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 503) Mr. Foster having obtained General Williamson's authority to inform the prisoner that there was no hope of a reprieve, examined him in the presence of Mr Fowler, the Gentleman Gaoler, when he fully acknowledged his guilt and the justice of his sentence. On August 11 General Williamson desired Mr Foster to let the prisoner know, in the gentlest terms he could use, that the order for his and Lord Balmerino's execution had been received. On Saturday, August 16, Williamson gave the prisoner "a minute detail of all the circumstances of solemnity and outward terror" that would accompany the execution. "All this Lord Kilmarnock, without the least visible emotion, expressed his satisfaction in; but when the General told him that two mourning hearses would be provided and placed close by the scaffold that when the head was struck off the coffins might soon be taken out to receive the bodies, he said that he thought it would be better for the coffin to be upon the scaffold, for by that means the bodies would be still sooner removed out of sight. And, being further informed that an executioner was provided that would perform his work dexterously, and that he was a very good sort of a man, my lord answered: 'General, this is one of the worst circumstances that you could have mentioned. I cannot thoroughly like for such business your good sort of men; for one of that character, I apprehend, must be a tender-hearted and compassionate man, and a rougher and less sensible temper might perhaps be fitter to be employed.' " When he was told that his head would be held up to the multitude, and public proclamation made that this was the head of a traitor, Kilmarnock was not in the least affected. This part of the ceremony was, as a matter of fact, omitted. On being summoned by General Williamson on the morning of his execution. Lord Kilmarnock was not in the least startled, but said, calmly and gracefully: "General, I am ready; I will follow you." Mr. Foster adds the following postscript to his account: "I think myself obliged in justice to General Williamson, and at his desire,

to declare that Lord Kilmarnock often testified to me that he had behaved towards him in a very civil and obliging manner; that upon the General's having desired, two days before his death, that when he took his leave of him on Monday he would do it in such a manner as would be an evidence to all present that he was satisfied with his behaviour, his Lordship answered: 'That I will, General, you may depend upon it, and in such a way too as is becoming a gentleman and a man of honour'; and that Mr. Williamson had from the first spoke of Lord Kilmarnock to me with great esteem and humanity."

The sentences on Kilmarnock and Balmerino of drawing, hanging, and quartering were reduced to beheading. The following are copies of the receipts for the writs directing the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the prisoners to the sheriffs, and of the sheriffs' receipts for the writs directing them to carry the executions into effect (*Treasury Solicitor's Papers*, August, 1746).

" 11th August 1746—Reced of John Sharpe Esq. Sollicitor to the Treasury by the hands of Richard Wright a Writ directed to the Lieutt. of the Tower of London or his Deputy to deliver William Earl of Kilmarnock to the Sheriffs of London and Middx. on Monday the 18th of this Instant August between the hours of 9 in the morning and one in the afternoon—and also another Writ to deliver Arthur Lord Balmerino to the same Sheriffs at the same time. by me A. WILLIAMSON."

" 11th August, 1746.—Reced of John Sharpe Esq. a Writ to receive the Body of Wm. Earl of Kilmarnock from the Lieutt. of the Tower & to behead him—and the like Agt. Arthur Lord Balmerino. JOHN OSGOOD for the Sheriff of Middlesex."

" 11th August 1746—Reced of John Sharpe Esq. a Writ directed to the Sheriffs of London and Middx. to cut off the head of Wm. Earl of Kilmarnock, another to cutt off the head of Arthur Lord Balmerino. by me JNO. SAVILE for the Sheriffs of London."

Mrs. Thomson (*Memoirs of the Jacobites*, iii, 449–451), following Burke's *History of the Commoners* (ii, 234), tells us that Colonel John Walkinshaw Crawford attended Kilmarnock on the scaffold, and was consequently put down to the bottom of the army list. According to Burke, the Colonel died in 1793, aged 72, so that he would be 25 or thereabouts in 1746.

For Williamson's account of the execution and burial, see entries

in the Diary of August 11, 17, and 18, 1746). Compare Horace Walpole's account of the execution, *Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 235. The following is a copy of Williamson's report to the Constable:

" Tower of London, August the 18th 1746 past ten o'clock. My Lord. At ten o Clock precisely, according to agreement with the Sheriffs of London and Midx. they knock at the Outward Gate, to demand the Bodys of the Earle of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino for execution, I have posted the Major there to expect them and I immediately (on notice) had them ready and we walk'd to the Gate and deliver'd the Prisoners to them escorted by a proper Guard of our Garrison, their Chaplins, and two Horses with their Coffins attending them, with orders to that Guard to bring back the Horses with the dead Bodys to the Tower to be inter'd at their earnest request, in the Tower Chapple. Near one a Clock; just now word was brought me that they are both beheaded. Kilmarnock left us with all the dispositions of a good subject; the other, a hardned Jacobite, (when I came into his Prison to bring him to Execution) had the impudence to drink the Pretenders health to me by the name of K——g J——s I replyd may it be health and long life to King George, and confusion to all his Enemys, and so we march'd downe.

" A little after twelve Lord Kilmarnock lost his head, they say at 2 strokes, and at near one, Lord Balmerino his at one, and a little stroke. I am, my Lord, Your most respectfull A. WILLIAMSON. To the Rt Honble. Lord Cornwallis Constable of the Tower of London." (*State Papers, Domestic*, August, 1746.)

LORD BALMERINO

(Page 121, note (4) *supra*).

Arthur Elphinstone, 6th Lord Balmerino (1688-1746), succeeded to the title January, 1745-6. He took part in the rebellion of 1715, and fled to France, was pardoned in 1733, and returned to Scotland. He joined Prince Charles Edward on his arrival in July, 1745, marched with him to Derby, and was taken prisoner a few days after Culloden (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

Lord Balmerino was taken to London and committed to the Tower with Lords Cromarty and Kilmarnock May 29, 1746, and was lodged in the Byward Tower (see notes "Earl of Cromarty," p. 204, *supra*, and "The Monmouth Tower," p. 219, *infra*). Unlike his two fellow

prisoners, he pleaded not guilty on his trial before the House of Lords, but was found guilty by the unanimous vote of the peers, and sentenced to death August 1, 1746. (As to the trial see note "Earl of Cromarty," p. 206, *supra*, and entries in the Diary of July 23, 27, 28, 30, August 1, 1746).

On July 15 Balmerino had written to the Duke of Newcastle: "I humbly beg your Grace will be pleas'd to allow my wife to be 8 or 10 days alone with me here. As this is the only favour I have to ask, I hope your Grace will grant it" (*State Papers, Domestic*, July, 1746), and the request was granted by warrant dated July 18 (*Tower Records*, iv, 26). On July 29, after the first day of the trial, Balmerino writes to his wife as follows:

" My Dear—General Williamson has so many people in the Tower just now that I believe His Excellency will hardly ever have time to be often with us. So I desire You'll go directly to The Duke of Newcastle and beg of His Grace, Since my time is drawing near to an end, That He will be pleas'd to give you an Order to be alone with me from the opening of the Gates till they beat the Retreat. If this granted it will be a great dale of favour and honour done us, and will save The General a great dale of trouble. Yours BALMERINO.—If the length of time each day that I have desir'd to see you is thought too long by His Grace of Newcastle as many hours may be allow'd as He thinks fitt." (*State Papers, Domestic*, July, 1746).

On July 30, Balmerino writes to the Duke of Newcastle:

" I have the Honour to be Uncle to The Earl of Moray, so as he is the nearest Relation I have in the world I hope your Grace will be pleas'd to allow him to see me alone that I may talk to him about ordering my burial. I likewise beg that John Maul Esq. and Mr. John Walkinshaw may be allow'd to come

" My Lord as my days in all probability will be very few I earnestly beg your Grace will give my Wife leave to be alone with me. I am with great Respect." (*State Papers, Domestic*, July, 1746).

With respect to Balmerino, as in the case of Kilmarnock, the sentence of beheading was substituted for the tortures provided in cases of high treason (see note "Lord Kilmarnock," p. 213, *supra*).

Between Lord Balmerino and Williamson there was some ill feeling. It will be seen (note "The Monmouth Tower," p. 219,

infra) that Balmerino insisted on addressing the populace from his window in the Byward Tower, and that in consequence the window was stopped up. The warrant of execution was announced by Williamson to Balmerino while he was sitting at dinner. Lady Balmerino fainted, and her lord remarked to Williamson: "Lieutenant, with your damned warrant you have spoiled my lady's stomach" (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 233). On August 12 Williamson writes to Stone, the Under Secretary, that the Duke of Newcastle "has been please to signe an order for the admittance of one Gordon, a young fellow and a non-juring priest, who comes in the gowne of a minister of the Church of England and may be one, but as he is a non-juror I should hope that such a fellow should be kept from Lord Balmerino, to whome he comes daily to confirm him in his rebellious principles. I thought it proper to acquaint you of this. All else is well and safe here. I am Sr. (&c). P.S. I think at este the non-juror should not be suffered to be on the scaffold with him" (*State Papers, Domestic*. George II, Bundle 86). On August 23, after the execution, Williamson writes to Stone (*State Papers, Domestic*, August, 1746):

"I carryd Fowler with me to be a Witness to what Lady Balmerino should say concerning the Strange Story invented for my holding a knife to my neck to show her Lord how his head should be cut off, when I waited on him, to acquaint him of the day of his execution, and in his Presence she denyed I made any such signe as was reported; I am sorry my care of the Prisoners here, wont let me be the bearer of the inclosed, and to assure you personally that I am with the greatest respect. Your most obliged and grateful servant A. WILLIAMSON.

"P.S., Slander has made me weary of my present situation."

On the scaffold Balmerino said that if he had not taken the Sacrament the day before, he would have knocked down Williamson for his ill usage of him (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 237). A copy of the paper which Balmerino read on this occasion is inserted in the *State Trials* (xviii, 523), but the portions offensive to the Government are omitted. The following is a complete copy taken from the *State Papers, Domestic*, January, 1746-7:

"A true Copy of the Paper which was read by Arthur Lord Balmerino, upon the Scaffold, at Tower Hill, and delivered by him

to the Sheriffs of London, just before his Execution on Monday August the 18th 1746.

" I was brought up in True, Loyal, Anti-Revolution Principles, and I hope the World is convinced that they stick to me.

" I must acknowledge I did a very inconsiderate Thing, for which I am heartily sorry, in accepting of a Company of Foot from the Princess Anne who I knew had no more right to the Crown than her predecessor the Prince of Orange, whom I always looked upon as a vile unnatural Usurper.

" To make amends for what I had done, I joined the King when he was in Scotland, and when all was over, I made my Escape, and lived Abroad till the year 1734

" In the beginning of that Year, I got a Letter from my Father, which very much surprized me, It was to let me know he had the Promise of a Remission for me. I did not know what to do; I was then, I think, in the Canton of Bern, and had no Body to advise with. But next Morning I wrote a Letter to the King who was then at Rome, to acquaint his Majesty that this was done without my Asking or Knowledge, and that I would not accept of it without his Majesty's Consent.

" I had, in Answer to mine, a Letter, written with the Kings own Hand, allowing me to go Home, And he told me his Banker would give me Money for my Travelling Charges when I came to Paris, which accordingly I got.

" When his Royal Highness came to Edinburgh, as it was my bounden and indispensible Duty, I joined him, tho' I might easily have excused myself from taking Arms on Account of my Age, but I never could have had Peace of Conscience, if I had stayed at Home where that Brave Prince was exposing himself to all Manner of Dangers and Fatigues, both night and day.

" I am at a Loss when I come to speak of the Prince, I am not a fit hand to draw his Character, I shall leave that to others, But I must beg leave to tell you, that the incomparable Sweetness of his nature, His affability, His Compassion, His Justice, His Temperance, His Patience, and His Courage, are virtues, seldom All to be found in One person. In short, He wants no Qualifications requisite to make him a Great Man.

" Pardon me if I say, Wherever I had the Command, I never suffered any Disorders to be committed, as will appear by the Duke of Buccleugh's Servants at East Park, by the Earl of Finlater's Minister

Mr. Lato, and My Lord's Servants at Cullen, by Mr. Rose Minister at Nairn (who was pleased to favour me with a visit when I was Prisoner at Inverness) by Mr. Stewart principal Servant to the Lord President at the House of Culloden, and by several other People. All this gives me great Pleasure, now that I am looking on the Block, on which I am ready to lay down my Head, And tho' it had not been my own natural Inclination to protect every Body as far as lay in my Power, it would have been my Interest so to do, for his Royal Highness abhorred all those who were capable of doing Injustice to any of the King his Father's Subjects, whatever opinion they were of.

" I have heard, since I come to this Place, that there has been a most wicked Report, spread and mentioned in several of the News Papers, that his Royal Highness the Prince, before the Battle of Colloden, had given out Orders that no Quarter should be given to the Enemy. This is such an unchristian Thing, and so unlike that Gallant Prince, that no Body that knows him will believe it. It is very strange, if there had been any such Orders, that neither the Earl of Kilmarnock, who was Colonel of the Regiment of Foot Guards, nor I, who was Colonel of the Second Troop of Life Guards, should ever have heard any thing of it, especially, since we were both at the Head Quarters the Morning before the Battle. I am convinced that it is a malicious Report, industriously spread, to excuse themselves for the Murders they were guilty of in calm Blood after the Battle.

" Ever since my Confinement in the Tower, when Major White, or Mr. Fowler, did me the Honour of a Visit, their Behaviour was always so kind and obliging to me, that I cannot find words to express it, But, I am sorry I cannot say the same Thing of General Williamson, He has treated me barbarously, but not quite so ill as he did the Bishop of Rochester; and had it not been for a worthy Clergyman's advice, I should have prayed for him in the Words of David, Psalm 109, from the 6th to the 15th verse.

" I forgive him, and all my Enemies.

" I hope you will have the Charity to believe, I die in Peace with all Men, for Yesterday I received the Holy Eucharist from the Hands of a Clergyman of the Church of England; in whose Communion I die, as in Union with the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

" I shall conclude with a short Prayer.

" O Almighty God, I humbly beseech Thee to Bless The King, The Prince, and Duke of York, and the Dutiful Branches of the Royal Family; Endue them with thy Holy Spirit, Enrich them with thy Heavenly Grace, Prosper them with all Happiness, and bring them

to thine Everlasting Kingdom. Finally I commend to thy Fatherly Goodness all my Benefactors and all the faithful Adherents to the Cause for which I am now about to suffer; Make them happy here, and in the World to come. This I beg for Christ's sake, in whose Words I further pray; Our Father etc.,

(When his Lordship had fitted his Head to the Block he said)

"God preserve my Friends, forgive my Enemies, Restore the King, and have Mercy upon my Soul"

"Having said this, he immediately gave the signal for the Executioner to do his office."

For Williamson's account of the execution and burial of Lord Balmerino, see entries in the Diary of August 11, 17 and 18, 1746.

According to Mrs Thomson (*Memoirs of the Jacobites*, iii, 402), the title of this lord is properly pronounced Balmérino, and this agrees with the verses from the *Gentleman's Magazine* (April, 1747), which Dr Johnson used to repeat:

"Pitied by gentle minds, Kilmarnock died;
The brave, Balmerino, were on thy side."

The title was taken from the village of Balmerinoch, locally pronounced *Balmernie*. Balmerino's ancestor, the second lord, appears in the *State Trials* as "Balmerinoth" (Howell's *State Trials*, iii, 591).

THE MONMOUTH TOWER

(Page 121, note (5) *supra*.)

No record or tradition of any part of the fortification being so named exists at the Tower. The Diary refers to Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino as being lodged in "The Monmouth Tower" (entry of July 28, 1746), and to Charles Radclyffe occupying "the Duke of Monmouth's Tower" (entry of November 24, 1746). Lord Ronald Gower (*Tower of London*, 28) and Mr Davey (*Tower of London*, 311) tell us, without citing authority, that the Duke of Monmouth was confined in the King's House (Mr Davey calls it by another name—"the Lieutenant's House"). Mr Davey says further (p. 334): "Kilmarnock and Cromartie were lodged on the upper floor of the Lieutenant's House, probably in the room once occupied by Lord Nithsdale, and Balmerino was placed in

a room on the lower floor of the same dwelling." It is clear from the entry in the Diary of May 29, 1746, that the above references to the King's House are incorrect, and we shall have no difficulty in identifying the tower which, in Williamson's time, was named after the Duke of Monmouth. Williamson describes it as "the round Tower by the Warders' gate," and on setting out for Westminster at the trial of the rebel lords he says: "I sent a coach with the Major and another with the Gaoler, each to bring the Lords to me at my house." The Warders' Lodge was, and still is, at the Byward Gate. Again, under date December 8, 1746, Williamson says that Radclyffe was driven in a coach from "opposit the Drawbridg on the Wharf," along the Wharf to the Iron Gate at the east end, and delivered to the Sheriff of Middlesex for execution. The Drawbridge connects the Warders' lodge with the Wharf. In a Survey of 23 Henry VIII the Byward Tower is referred to as "the tower at the West gate, the Warding gate" (Bayley, *Hist. of the Tower*, Appendix to Part I, p. xiv). In *A Particular of the names (of the Towers and Prison Lodgings in his Majesty's Tower of London, taken out of a paper of Mr. W^r. Francklyn's, sometime Yeoman Warden, dated the 16th of March, 1641*, the same tower is thus described: "The Byward or Round Tower, over the Byward Gate, att (all?) Warden's lodgings." (Harl. MSS. 5912, 5913). Bayley cites the same matter from Harl. MS. 1326 (Bayley, *ut supra*, xxxiii) and gives at p. 269 (Plate xxvii) a view of the interior of the vaulted chamber, about sixteen feet in diameter, on the ground floor of the northern tower of the Byward Gate. In August, 1746, Horace Walpole writes that "the other two wretched lords [Kilmarnock and Balmerino] are in dismal towers, and they have stopped up one of old Balmerino's windows because he talked to the populace, and now he has only one which looks directly upon all the scaffolding" (*Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 233). The evidence points clearly to one of the towers of the Byward Gate as the prison of the Duke of Monmouth, Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, and Charles Radclyffe. The Duke, and subsequently Kilmarnock, occupied the upper floor, and Balmerino the room underneath. Horace Walpole's description can only refer to the northern tower, where one of the lower windows looks to the south-west over the main approach to the Tower, and another to the north-west, over the moat, in full view of the site of the scaffold on Tower Hill.

MARQUIS OF TULLIBARDINE

(Page 121, note (6) *supra*).

William Murray, "formerly called Marquess of Tullibardine" (according to his description in the warrant for his commitment June 17, 1746, *Tower Records*, iv, 27), eldest surviving son of the first Duke of Atholl, joined the Pretender in 1715, and after the failure of that rebellion, escaped to France. He was attainted, and the family title and estates were conferred on his younger brother. He was one of the seven men who landed in Scotland with Prince Charles Edward in 1745, and after Culloden he sought refuge with Buchanan of Drummakill, to whose wife he was related. Buchanan surrendered him April 27, 1746. He was taken to Leith and thence by sea to London (Chambers, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, 322). He was in bad health, and died in the Tower July 9, 1746. His illness, death and burial are narrated in the Diary under July 5, 8 and 9, 1746. The first two of the following letters are quoted by Mr D. C. Bell in his *Notices of historic persons buried in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula* (299, 300); the third and fourth letters are from the *State Papers, Domestic*, July, 1746:

"General Williamson to the Duke of Athol. "Tower of London, June the 26, 1746. My Lord: I think it my duty to acquaint your Grace that the Marquis of Tullibarden who came very sick to us last Friday continues so ill that it is thought he is in great danger of sinking under it; he has been visited by the King's Physician, Doctor Wilmot, and by Dr. Harvey, to whom I refer your Grace for the further account of his distemper, and beg leave to assure you that we do all here that is in our power for his support and recovery, and that I am, with the greatest respect, Your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant, A. WILLIAMSON.

"P.S.—I had heard your Grace was not in town or you should have heard sooner from me.

"To His Grace of Athol."

"Tower of London, July the 9th 1746, Ten a'clock in the morning. My Lord Duke: Just now your brother the Marquis of Tullibarden expired. I assure your Grace no care pains or trouble was wanting for his recovery. I wait your Grace's orders how

further to act for him. I am Your Grace's most respectful and obedient servant, A. WILLIAMSON.

" To His Grace the Duke of Athol, In Savel Row."

The Duke of Athol to General Williamson. " Sir: I am very much obliged to you for the civilities which you have showed on this occasion, of which I shall ever retain a very grateful sense. As to what now remains to be done, I shall give you as little further trouble as I can; and as I find that it is thought that the Chappel in the Tower will be the properest place for the burial, to which my Lord Cornwallis consents, I have sent the Bearer who will follow your directions, to give the necessary orders for that purpose."

In a letter of July 9, " near two in the morning," Williamson reports the death of his prisoner to the Duke of Newcastle: " Just now, after all our care of the person call'd the Marquis of Tullibarden, and the care of the phisicians, he expired. Doct^r. Willmot and Harvey with M^r. Rendly (Ranby? see p. 122, note (5)) saw him a little before his death." Williamson's charge for the diet, lodging, etc., of the Marquis was 10 guineas a week (Diary, July 9, 1746).

LORD McLEOD

(Page 121, note (7), *supra*).

John Mackenzie (1727-1789) " commonly called Lord McLeod " according to his description in the warrant for his commitment June 17, 1746 (*Tower Records*, iv, 27), eldest son of George, third Earl of Cromarty, joined Prince Charles Edward in 1745, was captured at Dunrobin Castle the day before Culloden, and was ultimately brought to the Tower. At first he was confined in the Watergate Tower, over the Traitors' Gate (Diary, June 20, 1746). On July 7 he was removed to the King's House, Williamson's official residence (entry of that date). On August 26 it was ordered that he should be confined with his father (*Tower Records*, iv, 23). On August 27 there is a letter from the Secretary of State authorizing Sir John Gordon, uncle to Lord McLeod, to see him, and the prisoner is to have the use of pen, ink and paper (*Ib.* iv, 28). A copy of McLeod's indictment of high treason had been delivered to him by Mr Sharp, the Treasury Solicitor, the previous day (Diary, August 26, 1746). On November 28 there is a writ to the Lieutenant

of the Tower to deliver the prisoner to the sheriff to be placed in the County Gaol, and the receipt of the sheriff is endorsed (*Tower Records*, iv, 28).

The trial took place at the Court House, St Margaret's Hill, Southwark, under a special commission of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, as in the case of many others concerned in the Scottish rising who were tried at the same place, and whose names appear in the *State Trials* (see the trials of Francis Townley and others, *Howell's State Trials* xviii, 329). McLeod pleaded guilty. After the trial he was brought back to the Tower (Diary, December 20, 1746), where he had remained in accordance with his own request, as appears by the following petition to the Secretary of State, presented in August, 1746 (*State Papers, Domestic*, George II, Bundle 92):

"The humble petition of John, Lord Macleod, son to the Earl of Cromertie:—

"Most humbly sheweth:—

"That your petitioner was upon the 26th instant served with a copy of the indictment found against him for the crime of high treason, to which charge your Petitioner, full of the deepest remorse & contrition, has resolved to plead guilty, throwing himself absolutely with the utmost penitence & humility upon his Majesty's royal clemency.

"That your petitioner now a prisoner in the Tower is to be removed from thence by Habeas Corpus on Tuesday the 22nd day of September next, in order to be arraigned at the special session of Oyer & Terminer and goal delivery to be then held in the Borough of Southwark, & county of Surrey, and, as he is informed, he cannot be remanded back to the Tower, but must, after his arraignment be committed close prisoner to the new Goal in the said Borough, and loaded with irons, there to remain till he takes his trial.

"That the said Goal is so crowded with prisoners, that the petitioner apprehends his life will be in danger from fevers & other distempers incident to goals, especially considering his youth, & his present very uncertain state of health from his long confinement.

"Therefore your Petitioner humbly prays that he may be allowed to remain in the Tower till the day of trial, for he is informed he may be arraigned the same day w'ch can be of no consequence, or inconvenience, as he hereby becomes engaged to make use of no advantage that might arise from the delay of his arraignment, but instantly to

plead guilty whenever arraigned, and not to offer any thing in arrest of Judgement.

" And your petitioner shall ever pray, etc."

The following letter is amongst the *State Papers, Domestic*, December, 1746:

John Sharpe (Treasury Solicitor) to Andrew Stone (Under-Secretary of State). Dec. 17. 1746.—" I have just now reced. a Letter from Lord Justice Clerk relating to Lord Lovat wherein he has these Words ' I have been told that Mc. Leod had Letters from Lord Lovat upon the Pretender's Sons's Landing which would be very Material.'

" The Attorney General and I both think the McLeod meant by Lord Justice Clerk is Lord McLeod and I have the Attorney General's directions to apprise my Lord Duke of Newcastle hereof and to desire his Grace that he will be pleased to have Lord McLeod sent for and Examined in relation hereto and touching what he may know in relation to Lord Lovat and which I beg you will accordingly lay before his Grace. I am with the greatest Truth and Esteem," etc.

See also the letters quoted in the note on the Earl of Cromarty, p. 204, *supra*. McLeod was pardoned in 1748, and was then under the age of twenty-one. After serving in the Swedish army he returned to England, and in 1778 raised a Highland regiment, which became the 73rd Foot under his colonelcy. He afterwards served in India, and on his return to England was promoted to Major-General. The family estates were restored to him in 1784 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

WILLIAM MURRAY OF TAYMOUNT

(Page 121, note (8), *supra*).

William Murray of Taymount, afterwards 3rd. Earl of Dunmore (1696-1756), joined Prince Charles Edward and was present at the battles of Prestonpans, Falkirk and Culloden. He surrendered towards the end of April, 1746, and was committed to the Tower June 20, on the same warrant as Lord McLeod. He was indicted for treason at the Court House, Southwark (cf. note " Lord McLeod," *supra*), when a true bill was found against him. There is a warrant

of August 26, 1746, for George Ross to see William Murray and an authority to allow the prisoner the use of pen, ink and paper (*Tower Records*, iv. 29). On December 20 Murray pleaded guilty (see entry in the Diary of that date). In January 1746-7 he received a special pardon by which his life was spared, but he was kept a prisoner for life, first at Beverley and afterwards at Lincoln. A warrant of November 30, 1747, authorizes the delivery of William Murray to one of His Majesty's Messengers in Ordinary, and contains a receipt for the prisoner at the foot (*ib.*, 30). Murray was allowed to succeed to the Earldom of Dunmore and the estates in 1752. He died at Lincoln, December, 1756 (*Scots Peerage*, ed. Paul, iii, 387).

MURRAY OF BROUGHTON

(Page 123, note (2), *supra*).

Sir John Murray, Bart. (1715?-1777), better known as "Murray of Broughton"; Secretary to Prince Charles Edward, 1745-6; captured in June, 1746, and sent to the Tower. He turned King's Evidence (Diary, July 24, 1746), and was examined as a witness against Lord Lovat who calls him "the most abandoned of mankind, . . . the true disciple of his master Iscariot, . . . the villain secretary Murray" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Bell, *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, Introduction; Proceedings upon the impeachment of Simon Lord Lovat, Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 650). Amongst the *Jacobite Songs and Ballads* (ed. Macquoid, p. 274), is one entitled "On Murray of Broughton," which expresses the bitter resentment of his former friends:

" Go, wretch! enjoy the purchase you have gained,
 Scorn and reproach your every step attend,
 By all mankind neglected and forgot,
 Retire to solitude—retire and rot.
 But whither, whither, can the guilty fly
 From the devouring worms that never die?
 Those inward stings that rack the villain's breast,
 Haunt his lone hours and break his tortured rest;
 Mids't caves, mids't rocks, and deserts you may find
 A safe retreat from all the human kind;
 But to what foreign region can you run
 Your greatest enemy, yourself, to shun?

APPENDIX

Where'er thou go'st, wild anguish and despair,
And black remorse attend with hellish stare,
Tear your distracted soul with torments fell,
Your passions devils, and your bosom hell!
Thus may you drag your heavy chain along,
Some minutes more inglorious life prolong;
And when the fates shall cut a coward's breath,
Weary of being, yet afraid of death,
If crimes like thine hereafter are forgiven,
Judas and Murray both may go to heaven."

We may recall the story of Sir Walter Scott's father, who was Murray's solicitor, throwing out of window one of his wife's best china tea-cups with the remark: "Neither lip of me nor of mine comes after Murray of Broughton's."

At the suggestion of the Duke of Newcastle Murray had been approached as to his willingness to make disclosures before he was removed from Scotland. He was looked upon as a prisoner of consequence from whose capture it was hoped many advantages might result. He had promised to give information and expressed the desire that his examination might be private. Probably Williamsom had received directions to renew negotiations with the prisoner. The result appears in the Diary under July 24, 1746, when the Lord Chancellor and the two Secretaries of State went to the Tower at night and spent five hours in obtaining disclosures from the prisoner. The bearing of this incident on the trial of Lord Lovat is discussed in the note "Examination by the Privy Council," p. 250, *infra*. The object of the examination was to obtain general information as to the guilt of those who were implicated in the rebellion and was not specially directed to the case of Lord Lovat though he was mentioned among others. The examination, which reaches to a considerable length, seems to have been signed on August 13, and is attested by Andrew Stone, who was Under-Secretary of State. A warrant, dated July 23, authorizes Andrew Stone and Edward Weston (another Under-Secretary) to have access to Murray and to be alone with him and perhaps they or one of them would attend at the examination by the Lord Chancellor and the two Secretaries of State on July 24. Murray was examined again on November 11, pursuant to a warrant of that date, but on this occasion at the Secretary of State's office in the Cockpit, in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Chesterfield, and Mr Pelham.

He was also examined by Andrew Stone on February 8, 1746-7, and by the managers of the impeachment on the 14th of that month. This last was the examination on which Murray's evidence at Lord Lovat's trial was based (see the State Papers in the Appendix to Bell's *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 414, *et seq.*).

Murray's Jacobite friends can have had no suspicion of his treachery down to November 4, 1746, for on that day Charles Edward writes to d'Argenson that there are three prisoners in London in whom he takes a warm interest—Sir Hector Maclean, Glengarry and his secretary Mr Murray of Broughton. "I implore you, Sir," he adds, "to take every means to secure their exchange and will regard it as a personal obligation" (Andrew Lang, *Companions of Pickle*, 223).

Murray proposed that he should be sent to Scotland in charge of a messenger to recover the treasure he had buried there (*State Papers, Domestic*, September, 1746):

Murray to Stone (?) Under-Secretary of State. September 3, 1746.—"I took the liberty to observe to you that in case the parties were called in it was possible the money might be carried off, and proposed that some method might be taken upon to prevent it. I have since learnt by General Williamson, that Lord Lovat has been talking of it, which makes me afraid, that should such a report reach the Highlands it may be removed, it would be a pity such a sum should be lost, so as I have no reason to believe it is yett touch'd, nor to doubt but I shall find the 12,000 pound likewise, if it is thought proper, I am willing to go to Scotland in the custody of a Messenger, and deliver it to any person that shall be appointed to receive it." (*State Papers, Domestic*, September, 1746).

Murray received a pardon in June 1748. He succeeded to the baronetcy in 1770 and died in 1777.

JOHN WALKINSHAW

(Page 127, note (1), *supra*).

Walkinshaw was a solicitor and was taken into custody as a suspected rebel. He is said to have been related to Clementina Walkinshaw, Charles Edward's mistress (Forbes, *Jacobite gleanings from State manuscripts*, 25). The same writer quotes the following letter

of September 22, 1746, from Henry Fox, Secretary at War, to the Duke of Newcastle: "There is one Walkinshaw who solicits for some half pay officers and has been often with me to importune for the Beating Order¹ for the Scotch Dutch; he was in the rebellion of 1715, a noted Jacobite, and was on the scaffold with Lord Balmerino I conclude this is the man your grace enquires after. I hear he lives in York Buildings."

The following extract from a letter dated August 26, 1746, appears to have been written by the same John Walkinshaw (*State Papers, Domestic*, October, 1746):

"I attended B rio (Balmerino) in the Tower in his last moments even to the Scaffold and from all his Behaviour as a Hero & a Christian I am convinced that Death to a Brave and Good man is as nothing at all. What a pity it was that he was brought up in the true Loyal Anti Revolution Principles and that they stuck so close to him. He would have done infinite Honour to any other cause. I can assure you that in all Respects he even exceeded what we read of ye Heros of Antiquity And that his Name in spite of the words Rebellion & Distinction [sic] of Right cannot fail of being handed down to Posterity with a Gratefull sweet Savour as being more than Man. This justice his Enemys (if it is possible for him to have any now) must do him, And his friends will. He dy'd in Peace with all Men, in the Communion of the Church of England & in Union with The Episcopal Church of Scotland, forgave all his Enemys, Pray'd for his benefactors & friends &c. &c.

"JNO WALKINSHAW London, 26 Augt. 1746, To George Hamilton Esq., in York Castle."

Another letter from the same person is quoted by Bishop Forbes in *The Lyon in Mourning*, (i, 58).

A "Mr. Walkinshaw of Scotston" is mentioned as being present at Lord Kilmarnock's execution. See *Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 514. "Master John Walkinshaw of Scotstoun" is named in the Act 1 George I, c. 42, as amongst those attainted of high treason in connection with the rising of 1715, unless they shall surrender themselves to justice by June 30, 1716. This corresponds with the description of the Walkinshaw present at the execution of Lord Balmerino.

¹ Beating-Order; "A certificate given to a recruiting sergeant" (*New Eng. Dict.*). In the present instance it appears that Walkinshaw had applied for authority to recruit for the Scots Dutch brigade.

EARL OF TRAQUAIR

(Page 128, note (4), *supra*).

Charles, fifth Earl of Traquair, succeeded to the title in 1741, and died in 1764. He acted with the party of James rather than with that of Charles Edward, and was opposed to the expedition of 1745 being undertaken without French aid. He hung back with the English Jacobites on that occasion and for this reason was violently attacked by Murray of Broughton, whose confessions led to the Earl's arrest. On the occasion of his examination by the Privy Council (Diary, November 11, 1746) Lord Traquair, upon being confronted with Murray, denied the greater part of his allegations. The examination is given by Mr Bell from the State Papers (*Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 448). Murray sent the Earl a challenge after their liberation, and the Earl prosecuted him for inciting to a breach of the peace. Traquair was excepted by name from the benefit of the Act of Indemnity of 1747, but was never brought to trial. He was released on bail about January 1747-8 (Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton, passim*; Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, ii, 256, 266).

The following letters passed between Williamson and the Treasury with regard to Lord Traquair. Letters from Lord and Lady Traquair are included (*State Papers, Domestic*, August-December, 1746).

Williamson to Stone. August 24, 1746.—“Tho I think it needless to give you the trouble of forwarding Letrs of no concerne to the Gouvernmt, but meerly Family ones, yet til his Grace of Newcastle is pleased to direct otherwais, I shall in the absence of Lord Cornwallis send them to you, tho I know not how to act with the daily letters Lady and Lord Traquair send to one another, but by seeing myself, that they contain nothing but love, and friendship, for which purpose they are sent by the Lady open, inclosed to me, and he writes in my presence, and gives it me to read, and I mark both Letrs so that there cannot possibly be any ill consequences attending them. . . .

“P.S. That you may Judg of Lord Traquaires lettrs. to his Lady I send you a copy of this days letr and desire to know whether it be his Grace of Newcastle's pleasure, that such may go and come after my inspection.”

Lord Traquair to Lady Traquair. August 24, 1746.—“ I am very sensible my Dear of your great readiness in supplying my wants by the constant care you take in preventing them, for tho’ I did not stand in need of any money before the end of the week, yet you sent me yesterday twenty Guineas, which I received together with the linnen westcoat, and stockings. My weekly expences including my Warders with some other incidents, will amount to thirteen guineas as near as I can calculate, this will be a regular demand upon you while I stay here, I approve of what you have wrote to my Factor in Scotland, and must think it reasonable in giving all manner of security to my Banker, but as these gentlemen have forms of their owne I therefore desire he will give it in his owne words, which I shall litterally transcribe. Since you insist on my playing at Shittlecot by way of preservative for health, I shall, as it will allwais be some satisfaction to me to think I am doing what you require of me. I sincerely rejoice at the good accounts you give of your self, pray go frequently abroad and enjoy the benefit of the fine weather; as for myself, I am free from tooth ach and all other ailments; the Genral with his complisance and Mrs. Wmson with her good entertainment do their part in making my confinement as little disagreeable as possible but what chiefly afflicts is the pain of absence which I dare say is no less on your side, however I hope that it shall not be long; meanwhile my Dear let us endeavour to be resigned, this being the surest way to be easy here, and happy hereafter for tho’ at present we are seperat in bodys yet still I have the comfort to think we are closely united in mind.

“ My compliments to your sisters, may God bless and preserve you, and may I allwais be what I ought to be I mean your most affectionate TRAQUAIRE.”

Williamson to Stone. September 1, 1746.—“ I think Lady Traquair hitherto pleas’d with her confinement, but she seems to resolve to apply to his Grace for Leave to visit Mrs. Williamson, which we are far from being fond of, but rather hope you will assist in disappointing her in this attempt and keep her in all things to the terms on which she was admitted to see her Lord, for tho’ I thank God my wife is as warm in her affections to the Protestant Cause as I am, yet there may be inconveniences attending such a liberty that may be prejudicial.

“ I inclose to you Mr. Murray’s Letr. just now sent me, I hope you got his last, left with your chamber keeper a week ago by the same

hand viz; Mr. Hampden—You'll be so good as to give my best respects to his Grace acquaint him that all is safe and well here, and shall continue so, if in the power of Sir, Your most faithfull and obedient Servt. A. WILLIAMSON.

" P.S. I wish I could say things are as well at Tilbury Fort, the inclosed is from the Commanding Officer there." (*Enclosure wanting.*)

Williamson to Stone. September 9, 1746. "Lady Traquair and her lord are extremely quiet together and conformable to the rules first prescribed at her coming; all else is well and safe with us."

Lady Traquair to the Duke of Newcastle. December 2, 1746—
" After your Grace was pleas'd to order that my Lord and I should be in General Williamson's house, nothing would have prevail'd upon me to have given your Grace the trouble of making any complaints, but the pressing necessity of my Lord's circumstances, which after a confinement of four months, will not permit him to be at so great an expence, especially as a long absence from his estate, and a large family at home to provide for, makes it uncertain of any returns of money, upon which account I hope your Grace will not think it unreasonable to allow my Lord to remove to a Warder's house, where he may have the liberty of spending what he thinks proper suitable to his Lordships circumstances as he would be very unwilling to put the Government to charges upon his account.

" Since I have been a companion in confinement, I have likewis learnt of my Lord to submit strictly to all the rules of the Tower, and find by experience that it is possible to dispence with any attendance of a maid servant, as I have not made use of any in the General's house, and I flatter myself that if justice was done to my Lord's behaviour, & mine there could be no objection made to our removing excepting what may arise from self interest'd views, and those can have no weight with your Grace, so it gives me a greater confidence to apply to one, who is equally happy in a natural disposition and a power of Granting.

" I am but too sensible that I have abused your Grace's goodness in troubling you with so many trifling particulars, but hope you will the more readily excuse its coming from a female prisoner, especially when you consider how natural it is to apply to those from whom one has reason to expect most justice, and altho' I must submit to your Grace's judgment in what you think proper to grant yet I can never yield as to the point of gratitude for a favour done to one who is with

all respect, My Lord, your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant, TERESA TRAQUAIRE.

"The great regard I have for my Lord, makes me but too sensible how much his close confinement affects his health, having been used to a great deal of exercise and dont doubt but your Grace's humane temper will excuse the concern I can't help expressing upon this occasion."

Williamson to Stone. December 6, 1746.—"It is vexatious to have to do with willfull obstinate People for tho' I told the Lady that there is realy no Warder's house that she can be removed to, where her convenience and the circumstances of safe keeping her Lord and her can be well ensuerd, and that they may Lodge here in the cheapest way they pleas, and that I would even compliment them with the lodgings at their owne or no price, yet you are troubled again with an other Letr. from Lady Traquair by the bearer, which I suppose is to request her being removed from here tho we seemm to be in a very easy way together, and have no complaints of either side. I told her Ladyship she might have everything brought and dress'd for her by the Sutler at the best and cheapest rate, and brought to her daily as the officers in the Tower frequently have, and thus she might live free from allmost any expence but nothing will do but a removal, tho' I think she has not the leste reason now to offer for it, but she may have privat schemes to induc her, on the whole Sr I shall say no more to you about her, but that this house, to which she is by his Grace's order confined is the only safe and convenient place for a Lady of her Quallity, to be kept in. I can answer for no other and here she may live as cheap as she pleases, tho I heartily wish I could find an other for her.

"I am sorry for the trouble She and I give you, but myne is my duty to explain things to you for his Grace's full information."

Williamson to Stone. December 9, 1746.—"The bearer carrys you a Letr. from Lady Traquair contents unknown, but I have reasons to believe, that as she finds all means cut off of coresponding here, nothing will do, but her being removed to a suspitious Warders house, tho' I have proposed to her to diet her Self and live in the cheapest way here which I expected she would have been pleased with, but the Scheme is to get rid of the house she is appointed by his Grace's orders to be confind in to play a bad game.

" Give me Leave to wait on you to Morrow Morning at the Duke's
to let you a Little more into my apprehensions about this affair."

SIMON, LORD LOVAT

(Page 129, note (1)).

Simon Fraser, 12th Lord Lovat, was born, according to one account, in 1667, so that he was in his eightieth year at the time of his execution. Another account says that he was nine years younger (W. C. Mackenzie, *Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat*, 3; see also Lovat's *Trial* in the series of *Notable English Trials*, D. N. Mackay, p. 250). In his letter to the Duke of Cumberland, written about June, 1746, Lovat speaks of himself as past seventy (see *infra*). "Ætatis suæ 80," was inscribed on his coffin plate which he read on the scaffold. Upon the collapse of the rebellion, Lovat fled to the West coast and was captured in June, 1746, on an island in Loch Morar, where the soldiers found him concealed in a hollow tree. The following is a copy of his letter to the Duke of Cumberland:

" Sr,—This Lre is most humbly addressed to your Royal Highness by the very unfortunate Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat.

" I durst not presume to Sollicit or Petition Your Royal Highness for any favour if it was not very well known to the best people in this Country attached to the Governmt such as Lord Presidt. &c. and by those that frequented the Court at that time, that I did more essential service to your Royal Family in suppressing the great Rebellion in the year 1715 wth the Hazzard of my Life and the loss of my only Brother than any of my own Rank in Scotland for wch I had three Letters of thanks from my Royal Master by the hands of the Earl of Stanhope then Secretary of State in wch his Maty. strongly promises to give me such marks of his favour as would oblige all the country to be faithful to him there after and indeed the gracious King was as good as his word to me for as soon as I arrived at Court and was introduced to the King by the late Duke of Argyle I became by degrees to be as great a favourite as was about Court of a Scotchman, and I often carried Your Royal Highness in my arms in the Parks of Kensington and Hampton Court to hold you up to your Royal Grandfather that he might embrace you. For he was then very fond of you and of the young Princess.

" Now sir, all that I have to say in my present circumstances is, that if Your Royal Highness will be pleased to extend your goodness towds me in the generous and compassionate manner in my present deplorable situation if I have the honour to kiss your Royal Highness hands I would easily demonstrate to you that I can do more service to the King and Governmt than the destroying a hundred such old and very infirm men like me, past 70 (without the least use of my legs or knees) can be of advantage in any shape to the Governmt.

" Your Royal Father our present Sovereign was very kind to me in the year 1715 I presented on my knee to his Majesty a Petition in favour of the Laird of McIntosh to obtain a Noli Prosequi for him wch he most graciously granted and he gave it to Chas. Cathcart then Groom of his Bedchamber and ordered him to deliver it into my hands that I might give it to the Laird of Mc.Intosh. This was but one testimony of several marks of goodness his Majty. was pleased bestow on me while the King was at Hanover so I hope that I shall feel that the same compassionate Blood runs in your Royal Highness Veins.

" Major General Campbell told me that he had the Honour to acquaint Your Royal Highness that he was sending me to Fort William and that he begged of Your Royal Highness to order a Litter to be made for me to carry me to Fort Augustus as I am in such a Condition that am not able to stand Walk or Ride. I am wth the utmost submission & most profound respect. Sr, Your Royal Highness most obedient & most faithful humble Servant, LOVAT." (*Treasury Solicitor's Papers*, 1745).

Unlike that of Lords Cromarty, Kilmarnock, and Balmerino, Lovat's trial was by impeachment and Williamson attended him to the House of Lords when the articles of impeachment were read (Diary, December 18, 1746). Horace Walpole, referring to the bill afterwards brought in to allow Counsel to prisoners on impeachments for treason, says: "It hurt everybody at old Lovat's trial, all guilty as he was, to see an old wretch worried by the first lawyers in England without any assistance but his own unpractised defence" (*Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 274). The Diary contains very little information about Lovat and it ends abruptly with an entry dated April 3, 1747, of an order to deliver him for execution. We learn, however, from independent sources, something of the relations between Lovat and Williamson. It appears from the Diary under August 15, 1746, that Lovat was confined in the Deputy-Lieutenant's house (the " Kings House "). " Lord

Lucas' room," referred to in this entry was probably on the second floor, for Lovat is described as descending "the first pair of stairs" on the morning of his execution (*see p. 242, infra*). Horace Walpole relates that on his arrival at the Tower Lovat remarked that if he were not so old and infirm they would find it difficult to keep him there. They told him they had kept much younger men; "Yes," said he, "but they were inexperienced—they had not broke so many gaols as I have." The same writer, referring to Lovat's attempt to shift his treason on to his eldest son whom he had forced into the rebellion, says that he made the following suggestion to Williamson: "We will hang my eldest son and then my second shall marry your niece" (*Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 265).

Lord Lovat was indebted to Williamson for his subsistence in the Tower. The following letters, among the *State Papers, Domestic*, (August, 1746—January 1746-7), relate principally to Lovat's applications to the Government for an allowance out of the property seized upon his arrest to enable him to repay Williamson's advances and prepare for his trial.

Williamson to Stone (Under-Secretary of State). August 24, 1746.—"As Lord Lovat is destitute of money, I beg his Grace would take off the obstructions that may hinder paying him reasonable sums for his support, which I now advance to him."

Lord Lovat to Alexander McMillan, W.S., Edinburgh. August 25, 1746.—"I hope this will find you and your Lady in perfect health for I assure you I wish you both all manner of happiness and prosperity.

"I had drawn a Bill some time ago for £200 payable to Mr. William Fraser Writer to the Signet on Mr. Arbuthnot who has money of mine in his hands, but he was cautioned by Sr. Everard Faulkner as he say'd from paying it. The Duke of Newcastle to whom I have applied will remove the obstruction probably before this comes to you. I therefore send you inclosed another Bill for £200 on Mr. Arbuthnot payable to your self as Mr. Fraser my cousin is now at London, which be pleased to receive and send it as soon as possible to me by Bill payable to Mr. John Porter Merchant in London for my use or to Mr. Peter Crawfurd Barker and inclose the Bill directed to General Williamson in the Tower of London."

Williamson to Stone. September 1, 1746.—"From the want Lord

Lovat is in of money I must beg the favour of you to give all the dispatch you can to his Letr. with the bill on Mr. Arbothnot and the easy payment of the £200 to Mr. McMillan who is a person I hear well knowne to the Duke of Newcastle for his affections to the Governmt. I should not have meddled in this affair but that I am his principal creditor here and am daily supplying all the wants of a Lord who has not a Guinea to help him."

Same to Same. September 9, 1746:—"Lord Lovat hopes you'll not forget to send his Letr. and bill to Scotland. I must joyne with him in the request, having the whole weight of his expence here on my pocket."

Same to Same. September 27, 1746:—"The inclos'd is not fit to be given as directed til it has his Grace's approbation. All is safe and well here except the extream poverty of Lord Lovat which makes him very uneasy, the cause of which I hope will soon be removed." (*Enclosure wanting.*)

Same to Same. October 7, 1746.—"To pacify Lord Lovat, I have written his Letr to Sr. Everard Falkner, but it is verbatim his own dictio[n], by which you'll judg of his turn of mind and intilects; he is yet without money, and no liberty for Frasier his Factor to be admitted to him, which he now writes to you for—all is well and safe here but your friend and Servt. My Asthma encreases on me, for want of Country air and riding, which I resolve not to ask Liberty for till my care of our Prisoners is over. Mr. Murra [Murray of Broughton] has had eight merk'd sheets of paper from me since he sent his last to you. I desired to know just now, if he had anything to send to you but he had not."

(*Enclosure*) "Tower of London Oct. 7 1746. Dear Sir, Invincible confinement, & a strict prison are the only things, that kept me from paying long before now, my most affecte respects to good Sir E. F. from whom I recd. such essential marks of Friendship & Generosity, wch. I never shall forget, whatever condition of Life I am in, & I humbly beg you'll accept o' my sincere Gratitude wch. is all the marks, of thankfulness that's now in my power to give you.

"It is impossible for me Dr Sr Evd to express the love Honr & Zeal, I have for the brave young hero, H.R.H. the D. of Cu. you know Sir how much I am obliged to His politeness and generosity,

wch I shall have a gratefull sense of, as long as I have blood in me & shall continually pray for H. Royal person, & his perfect Happiness in every shape & particly on Thursday, next the day of the General thanksgiving tho' in close confinement wch. I humbly beg you wd. let H.R.H. know. This will be a new and lasting obligation laid upon me & be so good as to believe that I am wth. real gratititude & respect Dr Sr Evd. Your most obedient most obliged & most faithful humble Sert. LOVAT. To, Sr. Everard Fawkener."

Lord Lovat to Stone. November 27, 1746.—“ My Humble Request to the Duke of Newcastle is that Mr. Ross & Mr. Hugh Frasier may be permitted to attend me here as my Solicitors and to be alone with me. Mr. Frasier will be absolutely necaceous to me in procuring me money from Scotland not having had a penny from any mortall since my confinement here except what General Williamson has been pleas'd in his Great goodness to supply me with. Your Goodness in procureing an Order for the above Gentlemen to attend me, will extremely oblige good Sr.” etc.

December 1746.—“ To, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY'S OF STATE

“ The humble petition of Simon Lord Lovat sheweth:—

“ That in a former Application of your Petitioner to your Grace, he set forth, how a strong box containing between Six and Seven hundred Pounds and Trinkets to the value of Two hundred more have been forceably taken from him by Captn. Ferguson Commander of one of his Majesty's Sloops on the Western Coast of Scotland, at the time of your Petitioners being apprehended. The Petitioner thankfully acknowledges your Grace's interposition for the Recal of the Factory appointed upon his Estate, But having as yet received no answer to that part of His Petition, whereby he prayed your Grace to procure him the Restitution of the aforesaid money and Trinkets, and being informed, That the said Captn. Ferguson is now in Town, the Petitioner Humbly Prays of your Grace to Enquire into the transaction complained of and to procure the Petitioner an immediate Restitution of the money and effects so taken from him by the said Ferguson The Petitioner being so distressed for want of them That he has it not in his power to apply to the Council appointed him by the House of Lords for advising and

assisting him in preparing his defence, nor even the means of procuring himself the Common Necessarys for his dayly sypport.

Order of House of Lords. Decr. 18th, 1746. "In regard the said Lord Lovat had complain'd in his Petition, of being deprived, in a great measure, of any support from his Estate, or effects, since He was taken Prisoner, except from the Generosity of General Williamson;

"It was ordered, that the Lord Lovat be permitted to receive by his Factors, or Agents, the Rents & Profits of his Estate, in like manner, as if he was not under an Accusation of High Treason; And that His Majesty's Advocate of Scotland do take proper methods to carry This Order into Execution."

Captain John Ferguson to the Duke of Newcastle. December 24, 1746.—"Since I had the Honour of Attending your Grace I have been credibly informed that the money taken with Lord Lovatt did actually belong to the Pretenders Son, and was part of a larger sum deposited with his Lordship for his Account, and there is the greater reason to believe this to be true as the money was in general French and Spanish Coine. I beg leave also to observe to your Grace, that I am Credibly Informed by persons who were concern'd as agents for Seizures of the like Nature made in the time of the Rebellion in the Year 1715, that all such Seizures, were constantly distributed to the Captors, by the King's Grant after they were Condemned as the Goods of Rebells and Trators; and as some of this money has been actually distributed amongst the Troops, and the small remainder of it expected by the Officers and Seamen of His Majesty's ships, I humbly conceive that it would be a discouragement to them, if after the fatigues they underwent, and the Hazards they were exposed to in pursuing Lord Lovatt and the other Rebells, they should be deprived of what they think their due."

The Duke of Newcastle to Capt. Ferguson. December 26, 1746.—"I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure, That you should deliver to Mr. George Ross, who is appointed by the House of Lords, Sollicitor for Lord Lovat, all the money and effects, remaining in your hands, which were taken from his Lordship, at the time he was made Prisoner by you in Scotland, and that you should take the Receipt of the said Mr. Ross for the same, upon account of the said Lord Lovat."

The Duke of Newcastle to Capt. Ferguson. January 5, 1746-7.—
"Sir, Having been informed, that you have not yet delivered the money and box, which were taken from Lord Lovat and which remain in your Hands, to Mr. Ross, Lord Lovat's Solicitor pursuant to His Majesty's Orders to you, I must desire to know the occasion of it, and am to repeat to you His Majesty's pleasure, That you should forthwith deliver the said Money and Box without further Delay."

Capt. Ferguson to the Duke of Newcastle. January 5, 1746-7.—
"Having been down on Board my Ship, and from thence into the Country, I had not the Honour of your Grace's Commands before Friday Evening. Inclosed I have given an Account of the Money found in the Box taken with Lord Lovat in which your Grace will see that I have over paid the contents of it in Articles that could not be avoided. The reason of my saying that there might be about Two hundred pounds left was, without duly considering of the sums I had paid, or making any Charge of my expences in which I have been as Cautious as the Nature of the thing would allow me. Your Grace will please to observe that there is nothing Charged to Captain Duff or myself, or to the Officers and Company of the Terror, or Company of the Furnace, or to the Company of Guises, or that of Johnston's Regiments, all of whom expect their proportion of the money and effects taken from the Rebells, equal to what has been paid to the Argyleshire Militia &c., being as was apprehended by everybody, plunder from an Enemy, and therefore to be Distributed as usual. The particulars taken in the Box not inserted in the Account, but mentioned on the Backside of it, I have by me, and if Your Grace thinks fit not to allow of their going into the General Distribution, I will deliver them to Mr. Ross. I was a new made Captain when the Command of the Furnace was given to me, and consequently had no money of my own, which obliged me to Draw upon my Agent to defray my expences and I have Repaid him out of the money I had in my possession. If it shall be thought fit to order me now, the Repayment of those Expences, which I thought to have made a Charge of with others, after Lord Lovat's Tryal was over, I will out of it pay Mr. Ross the sum of Ninety nine pounds, one shilling, being the Balance of the money in the box above what has been actually paid, Exclusive of my Expences; Though this will occasion much murmuring amongst the people who expect it, and will be a loss to myself, Captain Duff and

others, who cannot then Expect a proportion, equal to what has been paid to the Militia &c."

In the particulars of trinkets, etc., taken in Lord Lovat's box are included:

"A blew and white silk purse with 30 pieces of silver 6 of copper and an old silver watch, and several trifles of no value; such as Loaded Dice, Glyster Pipes, Human Hair, False Teeth, physick, and a silver medal of the Pretender &c."

Amongst the items included in Capt. Ferguson's account of payments are included:

" To Capt. Ferguson's personal expences in travelling the Highlands, Brandy and other Encouragements to the Seamen and Soldiers under his Command	£. s. d.
" To his Expences in Entertaining on Board his Ship [the ' Furnace '] Lord Lovatt and his attendance, McNeal of Barra, Miss McDonald, Lady McKinnon, Capt. O'Neal, Col. McKinnon, Capt. McCloud, and several others some of whom were two months on board, and brought them to London	77. 15. 0
	63. 0. 0

Minute of the Privy Council, Jan. 7, 1746-7. " Captain Ferguson's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, relating to the money & Effects, taken from Lord Lovat, was read:—

" Their Lordships, considering, that it appears by the Examination of one of the persons, who will be produced as a Witness against Lord Lovat, that the said Ld Lovat was present at a Consultation or Council, held by some of the principal persons amongst the Rebels after the Battle of Culloden, when it was proposed & determined by them, to reassemble all their Men to make fresh Levies, & to meet at a certain Rendezvous, in order to oppose His Majesty's Troops and that the said Lord Lovat may therefore be considered, as having been in open Arms against His Majesty; their Lordships for these Reasons, did not at present think fit to advise, that any further Directions should be given relating to this matter. But ordered Captn. Ferguson's Letter to be sent to My Lord Chancellor."

After Lord Lovat's conviction and sentence, Williamson presented the following petition:

“TO, THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The humble petition of Lieutenant General Williamson, Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower of London

“Sheweth:—

“ That Lord Lovat having been committed to the Tower wholly without money for his support your Petitioner provided him and his Warders with lodging fire and candle wine and other necessarys fitting for a nobleman, and lent him at several times money for other uses for all which his Lordship gave your Petitioner Promissory Notes a Mounting in the whole to near Four Hundred pounds and as his Lordships supplys did not come from Scotland as was expected for his payment and that his Lordship’s estate is now forfeited

He humbly prays

Your Majesty would be graciously pleased to order the several bills Lord Lovat has given him and the charges he may further be at for his support to be paid your Petitioner out of his estate or other-wais without fees or Deduction of Offices, in such manner as to your Majesty shall seem meet.

And he will ever pray.”

In his petition to the Lords’ in December, 1746 (*Howell’s State Trials*, xviii, 531), Lovat says that he was without any money to procure the common necessaries of life and was wholly indebted to General Williamson for his support. It seems that at least a part of the debt was discharged. A day or two before his execution Lovat spoke of his cousin, William Fraser, having advanced a considerable sum of money to Williamson and promised on certain conditions to pay for Lovat’s further subsistence (*Howell’s State Trials*, xviii, 845).

An account of the proceedings upon the impeachment of Lord Lovat was printed by order of the House of Peers in 1747, and is bound up with Vol. ix of the folio edition of the State Trials (see note at p. 588 of that volume), and reprinted in Howell’s edition (Vol. xviii, 650). The impeachment was announced by the Commons to the Lords December 11, 1746, and the Articles of impeachment were read to Lovat on December 18 (Diary, December 11 and 18). The trial began on March 9, following, and was continued on the 10th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 18th. On the 18th Lovat was found guilty by the unanimous verdict of 117 peers and on the 19th he was

sentenced to death. The verdict and sentence are briefly recorded in the Diary under date March 18 and 19, 1746-7. It appears from the printed account that Williamson, who is referred to as the "Deputy Governor" of the Tower, brought Lovat to the Bar of the House on each day of the trial. In Hogarth's sketches of the trial the prisoner appears at the Bar between two persons, the one on the right bearing the axe, and the one on the left probably representing Williamson (*British Museum Prints*, C.c.1., 276-9; reproduced in P. C. Yorke's *Life of Lord Hardwicke* (1913) i. 574). According to the account in the state trials the axe was on the left of the prisoner and this agrees with Williamson's statement in the case of Lords Cromarty, Kilmarnock and Balmerino (Diary, July 28, 1746). Perhaps the picture was reversed by the engraver.

In 1747 was published *A candid and impartial account of the behaviour of Simon Lord Lovat from the time his death warrant was delivered, to the day of his execution, by a gentleman who attended his lordship in his last moments*. This publication is inserted in *Howell's State Trials* (xviii, 842); the author is believed to have been a Mr. Baker, Chaplain to the Sardinian Ambassador, who attended Lord Lovat to the scaffold (W. C. Mackenzie, *Simon Fraser Lord Lovat, his Life and Times*, 338, note; A. Mackenzie, *History of the Frasers of Lovat*, 473, note). There are a few references to Williamson, with whom the prisoner seems to have been on friendly terms. On the Major of the Tower visiting Lovat a day or two before his execution and asking him how he did, "Do," said his Lordship, "Why, I am about doing very well, for I am preparing myself, Sir, for a place where hardly any Majors and very few Lieutenant-Generals go" (*Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 844). The day before the execution General Williamson called, and, on Lovat rising to receive him, said he was sorry his Lordship should give himself the trouble. "What, Sir," replied Lovat, "I hope you would not have me be unmannerly the last day of my life." He asked about Williamson's family and spoke very kindly of him. Being informed that Miss Williamson was so affected that she could not take leave of him, "God bless the dear child," said he, "and make her eternally happy, for she is a kind-hearted, good lass" (*ib.*, 848). On the morning of the execution (April 9), when Lord Lovat had come down the first pair of stairs, Williamson invited him into his room to rest himself. On his first entrance he paid his respects to the ladies with great politeness, then to the gentlemen, and talked very freely. He asked the General in French whether he might have the honour to see his lady to return

her his best thanks for the favours and civilities he had received, to which Williamson answered in the same language: " My spouse is so greatly affected with your Lordship's misfortunes that she cannot bear the shock of seeing you at this time and begs to be excused" (*ib.*, 851).

By Royal Letters of Warrant dated April 1, and addressed to the Lord Chancellor, it is recited that Lord Lovat " stands attainted of high treason and for the same is to undergo and suffer the pains and forfeitures of high treason which by the laws and customs of this realm is to be drawn hanged and quartered and the said Simon Lord Lovat by law is to suffer death as aforesaid; yet his body being now remaining in our Tower of London and at our will and pleasure and by the authority of our power royal to be executed in such order and form as we think most convenient . . ." The instrument goes on to direct the Chancellor to issue a writ to the Lieutenant of the Tower or his Deputy to bring Lord Lovat to the accustomed place without the Tower Gate and there deliver him to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and also to issue a writ to the Sheriffs commanding them to receive the body of the prisoner " and the head of the said Simon Lord Lovat then and there forthwith upon the said scaffold at the Tower Hill aforesaid to cause to be cut and stricken off and clearly severed from his body" (*State Papers, Domestic*, April, 1747).

As was the case with Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, Lord Lovat was taken first to a house at the corner of Catherine Court near the scaffold and remained there some time conversing with his friends. On being assisted up the steps of the scaffold and observing the crowd of spectators, " God save us," said he, " why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head that cannot get up three steps without two men to support it? " Upon reading the inscription on his coffin, " Simon, Dominus Fraser de Lovat, decollat. April 9, 1747, ætat. suæ 80," he remarked: " Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." His head was severed at one blow (*Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 853-4). At the execution of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino and Charles Radclyffe the customary form of exposing the head at the four corners of the scaffold as the head of a traitor had been omitted. On the present occasion, by instruction of the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Sharpe, the Treasury Solicitor, requested the Sheriffs to revert to the earlier practice, but they refused to do so without a written order from the Duke. They were informed that it had been the constant practice to expose the heads of persons beheaded

for high treason till the late instances and the not doing so was an innovation. On delivering Lord Lovat to the Under-Sheriff, General Williamson reminded him of the ancient custom and expressed surprise that it had been omitted at the late executions. No written order was given by the Duke and by direction of Mr. Sheriff Alsop, who was present, the head was not exposed (*Statement of the Treasury Solicitor, State Papers, Domestic*, April, 1747). It would appear that Lovat requested that his head might not be exposed (see *Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 852). The execution was thus announced in the *London Gazette*: "Whitehall, April 11. On Thursday last Simon Lord Lovat was beheaded on Tower Hill." Compare Horace Walpole's account of the execution, *Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 267.

It has been alleged that Lord Lovat's body was taken to Scotland for interment (A. Mackenzie, *History of the Frasers of Lovat*, 483). The statement is repeated by Mr W. C. Mackenzie (*Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat*, 337), but corrected by an annexed slip, not found in all the copies of the work, which states that the remains were buried in the Tower. Lovat had erected a monument at Kirkhill with an epitaph on his father and himself which caused Sir Robert Munro to exclaim: "Simon, how the devil came you to have the assurance to put up such a boasting, romantic inscription?" (*Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 847, where the epitaph is transcribed). In December, 1884, Sir William Fraser, Bart., of Ledeclune, in a letter to *Notes and Queries*, says that Lord Lovat's body with the head was removed by night to Kirkhill and that a few weeks before the date of his letter he had seen the lead coffin containing the remains (*Notes and Queries*, 6th ser., x, 477). The real facts as to the disposal of Lord Lovat's body, so far as they can be ascertained, appear to be as follows:

In a letter of April 7, 1747, to his cousin, William Fraser, who acted as his solicitor at the trial, Lord Lovat make the following request: "that you will order my Body to be carefully put up in a lead coffin after my execution and there to be preserved and ordered to be transported to the House of Muniack where the same is to lay for a night or two and then interr'd under my own Tomb in the Church of Kirkhill, and as soon as the corpse arrive at Inverness you are to order any two of my Friends you think proper to invite so many of my friends and relations as you in concert with others shall advice to attend my Funerals" (*State Papers, Domestic*, April, 1747). William Fraser and another kinsman, James Fraser, an apothecary in Craven Street, Strand, were present on the scaffold and by their direction the remains were placed in a coffin, carried back to the Tower, and left there for a

few hours until the mob had dispersed. One Stevenson, an undertaker employed by the Frasers, then took away the coffin to his house in the Strand opposite Exeter Change, where the body was shown for a money payment (cf. *Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 271). Williamson, who had permitted the removal, with the knowledge of Lord Cornwallis, the Constable, but apparently without authority from the Government, now complained to Lord Cornwallis and by his direction, on April 13, reported the circumstances to the Duke of Newcastle, referring to "the great indignity as well as the indecencie of it—a thing never before heard of." On April 11, the Secretary of State had ordered Stevenson not to remove the body. William Fraser then presented a memorial asking for directions. He enclosed a copy of the letter of April 7, and said that Lord Lovat had mentioned his desire to be buried in his family vault to Lord Cornwallis, General Williamson and others who had access to him "and, so far as your memorialist could learn from the deceased, he had no reason to apprehend that his said desire should not be complied with or that it should anyhow interfere with His Majesty's most gracious pleasure" (*State Papers, Domestic*, April, 1747). Fraser had arranged with the master of a ship to transport the body to Inverness. It appears that on Saturday, April 11, Hugh Inglis, the owner of "The Pledger," then lying in the Thames, wrote to a friend at Inverness that his ship was to sail the ensuing week and to bring down the body of Lord Lovat (John Maclean, *Historical and Traditional Sketches of Highland Families*, new ed. 1895, p. 64, note). Fraser's memorial was considered by the Cabinet on April 15, and their lordships were of opinion "that the late Lord Lovat's body should be buried in the Tower." On April 16 the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the Commanding Officer at the Tower: "Mr. Stevenson the undertaker in whose custody the body of Lord Lovat now remains, being directed to convey the same to the Tower of London and there to deliver it into your hands in order to its being interred, I am commanded to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure that you do accordingly receive the said body from Mr. Stevenson and that you take care that it be interred within the Tower in a private manner." A copy of this letter is preserved in H.M. Office of Works. Meanwhile the remains had been soldered down in a leaden coffin in accordance with Lord Lovat's request. They were conveyed to the Tower, and on Good Friday, April 17, eight days after the execution, they were interred in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, as appears by an entry in the register of burials (*State Papers, Domestic*, April, 1747; *Scots Magazine*,

1747, p. 158; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1747, p. 162; *Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. 1903, ii, 271, 272; *Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 847; *Burial Register of St. Peter's*). Thus it appears that unless the undertaker played the Government false, Lord Lovat's remains finally rested in the Tower. There is, however, a strong local tradition that the head was taken to the family vault at Kirkhill and people now living affirm that till quite recently there was a small tin box in the vault which contained the head; but the box has disappeared (*Communication from the Hon. Mrs B. C. Maxwell*).

Besides the well-known portrait by Hogarth, painted at St. Albans on Lovat's last journey to London, and now in the National Portrait Gallery, the same artist produced a satirical sketch of which a mezzotint engraving was published June 15, 1747 (*Brit. Mus. Portf. xix*). This engraving represents Lovat in a monk's habit, carrying his head under his left arm and grasping a staff with his right. From the shoulders hang a string of beads and a crucifix. The scene is a churchyard at night, the moon breaking through clouds. The figure approaches a tomb which bears the inscription: "This monument was erected by Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat, etc., etc." On the side of the tomb is depicted a skeleton headsman with axe and block and an hour-glass, the whole surmounted by a skull and cross-bones. Below the picture are the following verses:

"LOVAT'S GHOST ON PILGRIMAGE."

"Disguised thro' Life, a Layman at ye Block,
My headless Trunk resumes ye Monkish Frock.

Doom'd for my Crimes in Pilgrimage to roam,
With weary steps I seek my Native Home,

Where Vanity inscribes my Father's Tomb,
But Justice now denies my Carcase Room."

The engraving was acknowledged by Hogarth to be his own design and was presented by him to Dr Webster, a physician of St. Albans, who attended Lovat while he rested there on his way to London. It is reproduced in Ireland's *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth* (1794).

Whether Hogarth was inspired by a well-founded suspicion that Lord Lovat's remains had been conveyed to Kirkhill, or the picture itself gave rise to the tradition, must be left to conjecture. We

know from what is related above that there was a sufficient motive for abstracting the remains. The coffin was soldered down, and, as eight days elapsed between the execution and the interment, it seems probable that on the final removal to the Tower no particular examination of the contents was made.

SIR JOHN DOUGLAS OF KILHEAD.

(Page 132, note (2)).

The entry of November 11, 1746, when Sir John Douglas was sent for examination to the Privy Council, is the only reference to him in the Diary. The date of his commitment to the Tower was August 13, 1746 (*Tower Records*, iv, 31). Being a member of Parliament his arrest was reported to the House, and his detention sanctioned under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act (*Commons Journals*, xxv, 184). The charge against him was that he went from London to Bannockburn during the siege of Stirling Castle in January, 1745-6, and delivered a message to Charles Edward to the effect that £10,000 was lying ready for him in London. On his first examination Douglas absolutely denied that he had been to Bannockburn, but on being confronted with Murray of Broughton at a second examination, he refused to answer any questions (Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 452, 462). The latter examination is referred to in the Diary. Douglas was excepted by name from the benefit of the Act of Indemnity (20 George II, c. 52), but was ultimately discharged for want of corroborative evidence (Andrew Lang, *Companions of Pickle*, 188). He was still in the Tower September 8, 1747 (*Tower Records*, iv, 32).

EXAMINATION BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL

(Page 132, note (5), *supra*).

The jurisdiction of the Privy Council to examine a prisoner charged with treason is based upon the duty of the Council to inquire into offences against the State (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, i, 231). The case of Oxford who attempted to shoot the Queen, June 10, 1840 (*State Trials, N.S.*, iv, 497), is a late instance of the exercise of this

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jurisdiction (*see p. 38, note (5) supra*). The examination is conducted in private, and, in the case of Lord Traquair and his fellow prisoners, lasted, as Williamson tells us, from 7 p.m. till near two in the morning.

Amongst the *State Papers, Domestic* (George I, Bundle 37), is a declaration by one John Sample in which he purports to give an account of his examination by the Privy Council in 1722, and, allowing due weight to the fact that it is the statement of an escaped prisoner (or "now retired in foreign countries," as he says), attempting to explain why he had promised to give evidence against his associates, it may serve to throw light on the methods of examination. Sample's examination as given in the *House of Commons Reports, 1715-1735* (p. 313) of course contains none of the colouring which is found in his own account. The Privy Councillors present were Lord Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Robert Walpole), Lord Carteret and Sir Robert Sutton. According to Sample's declaration, Lord Cadogan also seems to have been present. Sample was in the service of Sir Robert Sutton, lately Ambassador in Paris, and supplied information to Lord Sempil, the Pretender's agent there. The declaration is as follows:

"The declaration of John Sample, formerly of Sir Robert Suttons family in France, & lately taken up in England on account of the pretended conspiracy, now retired in foreign countries.

"As it has pleased the Almighty God protector of Justice and innocence to deliver me in a most extraordinary manner out of the power of the present Government of England, and to frustrate all the measures by which they resolved to force my life; I think myself obliged to make atonement for so singular a blessing in declaring truths to the world, which I wish may become useful for the behaviour and security of every one that has any dealing with the said Government and serviceable to my country.

"I acknowledge that my zeal towards my lawful sovereign James the third, not being rightly fenced with experience & prudence prompted me to write some ideas of my own to a friend abroad of no very considerable degree, in reference to what I fancied could be done for the kings service. These letters were intercepted by the ministry, & though the contents imported more of youthful fervency than of sedateness in the proposalls or regularity in the projects whereof I own myself altogether incapable, yet as they seemed to favorise the designs of the ministry in their search of proofs for their pretended plot, orders were given to have me taken up by a messenger,

& during two days I remained in his custody, I abided three long examinations before the Lords of the Cabinet Council. The beginnings passed with some moderation, & Sir Robert Sutton my master & protector was charged to screw from me some lights which the Ministry required, but as my knowledge could not answer their expectation, some original letters of mine were confronted to me which I owned to be of my hand-writing; other letters were produced, as copies of some I was supposed to have written, which I did & do disown, and then I received from every one of the Lords in the Council much harsher usage than should be imagined from persons of their degree. I was treatned [sic] with gibbets, racks and fire; an order was given me to read by Lord Townshend whereby I was immediately to be hurry'd into the dungeon of Newgate, there to be loaded with irons, & to have the greatest severity of that prison inflicted on me, but when I was reputed sufficiently terrify'd, Lord Townshend made me a proposal of pardon & of five hundred pounds a year pention, provided I would swear what the said Lord said he knew very well that I knew against Lord Stafford, Lord Cowper, Lord Orery & one Mr Smith; and in case of non-compliance, tortures and death were painted to me in the most dreadful shapes. I declared that I never had any knowledge of those Peers, but by their names and dignitys, that I never had conversed with any of them directly nor indirectly as I repeat in full freedom before God & man it is the truth: I represented the inconsistency of any familiarity between persons of such a superior rank with one so much inferior as I was by & with my evidence against them, were I tempted to give it would appear spurious & false to the view of the world; Then Lord Townshend returned to his furious temper with frightful oaths & execration; he was seconded by Walpole and Lord Cateret, the latters violence reached to foaming in the mouth, handling me roughly & giving me a blow in the breast; Lord Catagon [Cadogan] acted a counterpart & thought to gain upon me by soothing words, he advised me in a friendly & compassionate manner to comply with the desires of the Council he promised to make my fortune, & besides what had been profered me by Lord Townshend, he assured me of a commission in the Army. A seeming compliance to what Lord Catogan proposed to me, a request I made for time & conveniencys to write down my depositions, & a recommendation from his Lordship to the messenger for using me kindly were, after God, the means to which I owe my escape.

" I went home with the messenger full of anxiety between the

severe usage I was to undergo from the ministry, and the struggles of my conscience in reference to the alternative proposed to me. I supped with the messenger, & left him at table to go to my chamber under pretence of writing; I had remarked on the stair-case, a window without bars not far from my chamber door, I determined to venture making my escape that way although two story's high; the messenger's son conducted me, and was ready to shut me up when I bid him run down for pens I pretended to have left below, he obeyed, I pulled of my shoes, & leapt out of the window, God was pleased to favour me so, that I received no harm, and was in a condition to climb over a wall, and a foreign ministers garden; one of the said ministers family was so good as to give me passage through the house, when I went out I found the hue & crye in the streets after me, I took my party [part] to cry out Stop, along with the rest, & two women I never had seen were so charitable as to shelter me; it would be too tedious to repeat all the dangers I went through, until I was so happy as to get out of England, when my description was sent to every [part] of the Kingdom and a thousand pounds offered by proclamation for securing me which is doing me too much honour, shews the inveteracy of the ministry, & the honesty of the people.

"These truths I owe to God and man, & am ready to make good the same by oath whenever lawfully called upon, as witness my hand this 15 Octobre 1722. JOHN SAMPLE."

In the case of Murray of Broughton (Diary, July 24, 1746), the Lord Chancellor and two Secretaries of State went down to the Tower and were engaged from eight in the evening till one in the morning obtaining disclosures from the prisoner. Four days later the Lord Chancellor, as Lord High Steward, presided at the trials of Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty and Balmerino. In March, 1747, the same Lord Chancellor presided at the trial of Lord Lovat, against whom Murray of Broughton was the principal witness. It is not in accordance with our present ideas of the impartial administration of justice that a Judge should preside at the trial of a prisoner after having spent five hours in privately examining a witness for the prosecution, but the examination if questioned would no doubt have been defended as an exercise of jurisdiction by the Privy Council, and it appears that Murray was examined again by the Lord Chancellor and other privy councillors on November 11, 1746 (*see* entry in the Diary of that date). Holt, Eyre, Mansfield, Loughborough, and Kenyon, all eminent judges, attended the examination of State

prisoners before the Privy Council and afterwards presided at their trials (*Lord Colchester, Diary*, ii, 42); and see the debates in the Lords and Commons in 1806 on the subject of the Chief Justice having a seat in the Cabinet (*Hansard*, 1st Ser. vi, 253, 286). Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that an outcry would have been raised if the circumstances of the examination at the Tower in July, 1746, had been disclosed at Lord Lovat's trial. It may be a mere coincidence, but there is a passage in the proceedings on this trial which rather suggests that the Lord Chancellor was leading the witness Murray to avoid dangerous ground.

When Murray was giving his evidence a peer objected that some of his statements were based on hearsay only. Murray replied: "I was directed that when I came to be examined here I was to give a narrative of the springs, the rise and progress, of the late rebellion, as well as what related to the noble lord at the bar." Earl of Cholmondeley: "As the witness says he was directed to give a narrative with regard to the whole rise and progress of the rebellion, I beg he may be asked by whom he was directed?" Lord High Steward (Lord Hardwicke): "My lords, I did not at this distance hear the witness use the word 'directed' but understood him only that he was brought here to give an account of the rise and progress of the rebellion. Possibly it might escape me." In reply to a question by the Lord High Steward as to whether he made use of the word "directed" or not, Murray says: "My lords, this is the first time I ever spoke in public; I may have committed an error; I cannot say whether I made use of the word 'directed' or no" (*Proceedings on the impeachment of Lord Lovat, Howell's State Trials*, xviii, 656).

DR BARRY

(Page 132, note (6), *supra*).

Dr Peter Barry of Craven Street, London, physician, the Pretender's agent in London. In consequence of Murray of Broughton's disclosures, Barry was examined by the Privy Council November 11, 1746, and, being confronted with Murray, alleged that all Murray's statements relating to transactions with him were absolutely false and pure invention. Barry was committed to the Tower on the following day. He is excepted by name from the benefit of the Act

of Indemnity of 1747 (20 George II, c. 52), but was ultimately released for want of corroborative evidence (Bell, *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, 453-4; Andrew Lang, *Companions of Pickle*, 88).

FLORA MACDONALD

(Page 133, note (3), *supra*).

The *Autobiography of Flora Macdonald*, edited by her granddaughter (2nd ed. 1870, ii, 7-13), gives a detailed account of Flora's committal to the Tower on December 6, 1746, of her sojourn there, and of her removal to the house of a gentleman who was to keep guard over her. There is nothing inherently improbable in this account and the statement of the imprisonment in the Tower is confirmed by the testimony of a descendant of Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh; see an article *The real Flora Macdonald* by Miss Margaret Macalister Williamson in the *Lady's Realm*, Vol. ii (1897) 671. Doran says that Flora was brought up to the Tower and soon after was allowed to live in the house of Mr Dick, the messenger (*London in the Jacobite Times*, ii, 254). Mr Jolly (*Flora Macdonald in Uist*, 83), Mr Macgregor (*Life of Flora Macdonald*, 116), and Messrs A. and A. Macdonald (*The Clan Donald*, iii, 614), agree in saying that Flora was committed to the Tower, and the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* speaks of a short imprisonment there. On the other hand, Flora Macdonald was a notable person, and if she was lodged in the Tower, it is difficult to account for the absence of any reference to the fact in the Diary. Williamson wrote two letters on December 6, 1746, to Stone, the Under-Secretary of State, one relating to the execution of Charles Radclyffe, and the other to the wilful behaviour of Lady Traquaire (see pp. 197, 232, *supra*) but he makes no mention of Flora Macdonald. Neither is there any warrant for her committal amongst the Tower Records. Amongst the *State Papers, Domestic* (George II, Bundle 92), are two lists of prisoners which include Flora Macdonald. One is entitled "A list of Dick's prisoners, 1746"; the other "List of persons in custody in different parts of England on account of the rebellion concerning whom no orders have been given, 1746." Under a sub-heading "Prisoners in the custody of messengers" the latter list includes "Miss Flora McDonald." In a "List of prisoners in the Tower,

Jan. the 7th, 1746-7" (*State Papers, Domestic*, January 1746-7) Flora Macdonald's name is not included. This list contains the following names:

Lord Lovat, Lord Traquair, Lord Cromarty, Lord Macleod, William Murray Esq., Mr. Murray of Broughton, Mr. Steuart late Provost of Edinburg, Doctor Bary, Sir John Douglass.

Capt'n. McDonnel, Capt'n. Seaton, Capt'n. Grace, Lieut. Reyley, Lieut. Macguenis, Lieut. Donn, French Prisoners.

In *Ascanius or the Young Adventurer*, 1747 (p. 98) it is said that Flora was removed to London in the custody of Mr. Dick and so remained until July 1747. The author adds: "This relation is taken from the remainder of O'Neil's journal and from the mouth of Kingsburgh, his lady, and Flora."

Bishop Forbes (*Lyon in Mourning*, i, 305) says that Flora "was upon the 28th of November [1746] put on board the 'Royal Sovereign' lying at the Nore and upon the 6th of December following was removed to London and put into the custody of Mr Dick, a messenger." The alleged committal to the Tower, apparently based on family repute, is not supported by any official record, and as no contemporary account reports the fact, the proof can hardly be considered sufficient. According to the writer of the article "Flora Macdonald," in *Chambers' Cyclopædia*, the "Autobiography" is of very doubtful authority. It is probable that Flora landed at the Tower Wharf, and this may have given rise to the notion that she was confined in the Tower.

The following document containing proofs of witnesses in the case of Flora Macdonald is amongst the State Papers (*Treasury Solicitor's Papers*, 1746, No. 38):

"Ronald McDonald Bailie—This witness says that abt the Time Genl. Campbell came to the Isld Hugh McDonald (Capt. of Militia), wrote to his wife that he had sent with his Daugr. an Irish Girl (the Young Adventurer in Disguise) whom he had hired as a Servt. & as she spun very well & was otherways a good Servt, he begged she wod. use her extreamly well & assist her in whatever she might want & also that the above McDonald gave a pass to his Daur. & also her maid least any of the King's Troops shod. meet them. This witness says he saw Miss McDonald the pson who had the above pass in Compy. with O'Neil for 2 days at Clanronald's house & Lady Clanronald was at home all that time.

" Roderich McDonald—This witness says that when they arrived at Sky near Sr. Alex. McDonald's house that Miss McDonald, who was with & assisted the pretendr. to Escape went to Sir Alex's house & after staying some time came back, & told the Prtendr there was no welcome for 'em there but that he must go 5 or 6 miles further that night.

" John McLean—This Witness says that the night before Genl. Campbell arrived at Benicula Lady Clanronald ordd this witness to take the victuals he had dressed & go with her she being accompanied by Miss Flora McDonald—That they went to a Place called Roschuisch where they met the young pretendr.

" Duncan McIver—This witness says that on Saturday the 28th of June being a Servt. to Clanronald the Ly obliged him to go into a Boat & help to row the young Prtendr from South Vist to Sky where they arrived the 29th & landed the young pretendr & Miss Flora McDonald, near Sr. Alex. McDonald's house."

The following is from the *State Papers, Domestic* (Undated, 1746);

" *List of prisoners delivered to Commodore Smith by Major General Campbell.*—. . . Miss Flora McDonald, of Milton, made Prisoner for having carried off the Pretender's son, as her servant in Woman's Apparell.

Her Declaration was sent to His Royal Highness The Duke: But she further says, that Her father-in-law, Hugh McDonald of Armadael, an Officer in the Sky Militia, gave her a pass to protect her & her pretended Servant, from the King's Troops; and that he wrote a Letter to his Lady, recommending his Daughter-in-Law's pretended servant to her favour and protection. The person was sent after, but made his escape."

Flora Macdonald was discharged from custody upon the passing of the Act of Indemnity in July 1747.

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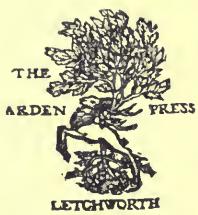
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